Connecticut College
Library

(From an etching by E. L. Montefiore, dated 1879)

Sir Moses Montefiore

MOSES MONTEFIORE

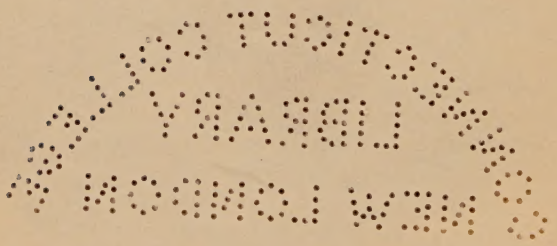
BY

PAUL GOODMAN

PHILADELPHIA
THE JEWISH PUBLICATION SOCIETY OF AMERICA
1925

921
M769g

Copyright, 1925
by
The Jewish Publication Society of America



PRINTED AT
THE JEWISH PUBLICATION SOCIETY PRESS
PHILADELPHIA, PENNA.

TO

THE YEHIDIM AND ELDERS

OF THE

SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE JEWS' CONGREGATION

"SHAAR ASHAMAIM",

BEVIS MARKS, LONDON

WHICH WAS THE SOURCE OF INSPIRATION

AND CENTRE OF ACTIVITY,

OF ITS FORMER

SENIOR YAHID AND ELDER

SIR MOSES MONTEFIORE, BART.

THIS BOOK IS

DEDICATED

ON HIS SEMI-JUBILEE OF OFFICE (1895-1920)

BY THEIR DEVOTED SECRETARY

THE AUTHOR

21176

CONTENTS

		PAGE
Preface		
Introduction		11
Chapter I	His Family	22
Chapter II	City Life	30
Chapter III	Early Communal Activities	35
Chapter IV	Political Activities	41
Chapter V	Visits to Palestine	48
Chapter VI	The Damascus Affair	61
Chapter VII	His First Efforts in Russia	77
Chapter VIII	An Echo of Damascus	97
Chapter IX	The Mortara Case	104
Chapter X	Further Endeavors in the Holy Land	111
Chapter XI	Persia and Morocco	124
Chapter XII	Judith Montefiore	151
Chapter XIII	Roumania	159
Chapter XIV	Russian Affairs	167
Chapter XV	His Last Visits to the Holy Land	178
Chapter XVI	His Last Years	203
Chapter XVII	The Man	213
Genealogical Table		228
Bibliography		231
Index		253

ILLUSTRATIONS

Sir Moses Montefiore (1879)..... *Frontispiece*
Moses Montefiore (1818)..... *Facing p.* 25
Coat-of-Arms of Sir Moses Montefiore..... *Facing p.* 41
East Cliff Lodge, Seat of Lord Keith (1805).. *Facing p.* 65
Sir Moses Montefiore..... *Facing p.* 95
Judith, Lady Montefiore ..... *Facing p.* 131
East Cliff Lodge, Ramsgate..... *Facing p.* 151
Judith, Lady Montefiore College, Ramsgate.. *Facing p.* 175

PREFACE

The life of Sir Moses Montefiore is in itself a chapter of the History of the Jews in modern times, and I have been prevented only by considerations of the limited space at may disposal from dealing at greater length with the large amount of material available in connection with the subject.

I am much indebted to the centennial biography of Sir Moses Montefiore by Mr. Lucien Wolf, a thorough master in the domain of Anglo-Jewish history, and to the invaluable "Diaries" edited by Dr. Louis Loewe, the secretary and literary executor of Sir Moses.

The Archives of the historic Spanish and Portuguese Jews' Congregation in London and the Library and Museum of the Judith Lady Montefiore College at Ramsgate, which have been at my disposal, are rich and tempting mines of original information, that I have utilized so far as the exigencies of space would permit.

My thanks are also due to my friends the Rev. David Bueno de Mesquita and Mr. Michael Marchant for their kind assistance in the revision of the proofs.

P. G.

"Hatikvah," The Ridgway, London, N. W. 11. On the anniversary of Sir Moses Montefiore's birthday, 1921.

INTRODUCTION

Sir Moses Montefiore was the outstanding Jewish figure of a great part of the nineteenth century. As in the case of Moses Mendelssohn in the eighteenth century, Moses Montefiore became the symbol of his time, and may be taken in his life-work as characterizing the Jewish strivings and tendencies of his age.

Moses Montefiore's life covers the whole of the period of Jewish emancipation. Living in England in the nineteenth century, he did not suffer in person from Jewish disabilities, and was not called upon to fight for the admission of his people into the comity of European civilization. As a well-born Sephardi Jew, he found a high tradition of Western culture among his co-religionists, more particularly among those of his own association. His community —the Congregation of Spanish and Portuguese Jews in London—had behind it a century and a half of public life which formed one of the few bright chapters towards the close of the Jewish Middle Ages. Moses Montefiore's life, however, began in the throes of Jewish freedom which was heralded by the great French Revolution; he witnessed the course of Jewish enfranchisement

from one country to another, until it met its eclipse in the first wave of Russian pogroms.

In his own personal thoughts and actions, Moses Montefiore represented that effort peculiar to the Jews—and, for practical purposes, confined to them—of combining an unswerving loyalty to the individuality of his own people with an abounding devotion to the land of his allegiance. In this, he was a model figure, a living embodiment of that quality of patriotism which so few Jews of prominence have been able to emulate. It was not only that this Jew of Italian origin loved with heart and soul his England, but he looked upon its Sovereign with an Oriental reverence. This is only part of the spiritual web and woof of the Jew, fashioned by his wanderings, and exemplified daily. But what is specially worthy of remark is the fact that in Moses Montefiore the elements were so perfectly mixed that his English patriotism was not exemplified at the cost of his Jewishness.

It was in this striking combination of his Jewish and general activities, in the harmony of his religiously and racially Jewish, and politically and patriotically English, life, that Moses Montefiore excelled. He was not great in either the one or the other aspect. Jews have risen very high in the political sphere in England; but, with the possible exception of his great-nephew Nathaniel Mayer Rothschild's elevation

as the first Jew to the British peerage—an honor that was originally suggested to be conferred on Moses Montefiore—all the distinctions and dignities conferred on Jews have been credited to the individuals concerned. In the case of Moses Montefiore, the favors extended to him by his Sovereign and his fellow-citizens were intended not only to mark his personal worth, but also as signs of good will to his people. When to his coat-of-arms—on the crest of which "Jerusalem" was emblazoned in golden Hebrew characters—the Queen of England added in 1841 the unusual distinction of supporters, the warrant issued by her at the Court of St. James's set out that such distinction was conferred on him because the Queen was "desirous of giving a special mark of our royal favour to Sir Moses Montefiore and in commemoration of these his unceasing exertions in behalf of his injured and persecuted brethren in the East and the Jewish nation at large."

It may be said that Moses Montefiore stood pre-eminent among his own people by very reason of his specifically Jewish qualities. To be sure, he was hardly able to use the Hebrew language beyond his prayers, and his religious outlook was bounded by the limits of the English Judaism of his time. Yet his intense Jewishness overcame his accidental limitations. He was keenly anxious to extend his knowledge of

Hebrew, which he regarded with absorbing interest, and he even signed his Will in Hebrew as well as in English. In the Judith Lady Montefiore College, which he established at Ramsgate in memory of his wife, he endeavored to create in the uncongenial atmosphere of Western Europe a place of learning that should conform with Jewish traditions. In so far as it depended on him, the Yeshibath Ohel Moshé ve-Yehudith, as it is styled in Hebrew, was to have been, in spirit as well as in the letter, a centre of Jewish scholarship on the old lines. In spite of his English patriotism, he not only brought the members of his college from Eastern Europe, but expressly laid down in the Deed of Foundation that no man was to be excluded—or favored—because of his origin. In this he even put aside his undoubted predilections for the ritual of his own Sephardi community or for his Anglo-Jewish co-religionists, and chose as collegiates Ashkenazim of foreign parts whom he deemed most fitted for his college, rather than men of his own rite or country.

It was by his strictly conforming Jewish life that he captivated the minds not only of his co-religionists but of the world at large. In the prevailing laxity, in the general desire of the wealthy and educated Jewish classes to shed their racial and religious characteristics, it was certainly an ennobling influence that

the most distinguished and the universally honored scion of the house of Israel maintained aloft the ancient and hallowed culture and practices of his people. It instilled respect for the Jews in the eyes of their gentile neighbors, and, what is more important, it inspired self-respect in the Jews themselves.

Moses Montefiore's piety was genuinely Jewish. He lived the Jewish way that reminded one of the patriarchal figure of Abraham and of the general Jewish ideal of well-being combined with well-doing. His thoughts, as revealed in his Diaries, show a biblical association of prosperity with the blessing of God. In his working days, a large part of his time was devoted to benevolent activities, which at that time were still of that personal nature that gives to Jewish Zedakah its true significance, and when, in the full flush of manhood, he retired from business, he gave the whole of his life to the welfare of his fellow-Jews.

Locally, he took a most prominent part in the movement for Jewish emancipation in England. Allied by blood and financial interests to the Rothschilds and other leading Jewish families in the country, and in close touch with influential circles in the City of London, he achieved municipal honors and rose to the dignity of a baronetcy. His staunch Jewishness as well as his upright character helped

the cause of Jewish political enfranchisement and the ultimate election to the house of Commons of his nephew, Baron Lionel de Rothschild, as the first professing Jew to enter the British Parliament. As president of the Jewish Board of Deputies, whose official duty it was to safeguard the political interests of Jews, he made the removal of Jewish disabilities the purpose of his life.

The claim of Sir Moses Montefiore to greatness rests on the efforts that he made to break the slavery of his people in all lands. By his intervention in the Damascus affair of 1840, he created a new epoch in Jewish history. For the first time there was international Jewish action to redress a Jewish wrong. Even more important than its immediate result, the deadly blow it dealt at the hideous blood-accusation, was its impelling force towards Jewish unity. It became the inspiring idea that led to the active solidarity of the Jews in the whole Dispersion. Whether in Russia or in Morocco, his appearance brought forth unexpectedly benevolent intentions towards his people by their Pharaonic oppressors, while amongst his co-religionists he awakened the most hopeful ideals for their future. He was as trusted by his own as he was respected by strangers.

He was of the type known in Jewish history as

Sh'tadlan, one who, in medieval and more recent times, came to the rescue of his brethren when they were in sore need, and by his influence delivered them. Sir Moses Montefiore was the greatest of the Sh'tadlanim. It was neither by wealth nor by intellect that he impressed the non-Jewish world—for he was not really great in either—but by the force and triumph of character. It was this which won him the high regard of the Queen of England and the Emperor of the French, of Sultan and Tsar, and the boundless affection and veneration of his people all over the world. In Paris and St. Petersburg, in Constantinople, Bucharest and Morocco, he was received as the representative of the Jews, who, on their side, were encircling his name and figure even during his life-time with the halo of legend and romance.

The place of Moses Montefiore in Jewish history will, however, be permanently ensured not by his part in the struggle for Jewish emancipation nor by his Sh'tadlanuth, but by his devoted and inspiring effort for the resettlement of the Jews in Palestine. At the end of his life his untiring endeavors for the amelioration of the civil and political status of his brethren in Eastern Europe suffered a total eclipse by the Russian pogroms and the fateful "May Laws" of 1882, while in the West anti-Semitism had already grown into a monster which was to spread its tentacles

into the very vitals of the Jewish people. But a new epoch had dawned in Jewish history, and it was Moses Montefiore who had ushered it in. His mission to Damascus, brilliant and successful as it was, was in itself of but an ephemeral nature, for the charge of ritual murder against the Jews is born of ignorance and malice, against which no Sultan's Firman or Pope's Bull has proved efficacious, but the effect of that ever-memorable mission was permanent. It was the spark which lit up the consciousness of Jewish solidarity, of a resurgent Jewish Nationalism. Adolphe Crémieux, the great French lawyer, who went out with him to slay the dragon of Jew-hatred, became one of the founders and the president of the Alliance Israélite Universelle, whose very name and whose Hebrew motto, "Every Israelite is responsible for the other", became the symbol and challenge of Jewish unity. In the Damascus affair and in his other undertakings, whether in Russia or in Morocco, Moses Montefiore's concern for Jewish interests gave the keynote to that Jewish symphony which at the end of his life was heard above all the tumult and fury that had broken loose against his people.

Moses Montefiore was privileged to see the birth of another Jewish epoch. From the day, in 1827, when he and his wife set out on the

far and perilous journey to the Holy Land, to the year 1874 when, a nonagenarian, he made his seventh pilgrimage to that country for the purpose of ameliorating the condition of his brethren there, Palestine was ever and uppermost in his thoughts. He was the first Jew of Western Europe to enter into negotiations for the purchase of large tracts of land for Jewish colonization in that country. When, after appealing to the Jewish authorities in Palestine to suggest to him some means of improving the economic conditions of the Palestinian Jews, he recommended in vain the establishment of agricultural colonies, and when the Palestine Committee of the Board of Deputies also refused to adopt his suggestion, he nevertheless went on his last visit to that land—which, in spite of its then prevailing misery, seemed to have a never-failing attraction for him—in order to acquaint himself once more personally with its needs. His diary of that pilgrimage, undertaken at the age of four score and ten, contains recommendations which have ultimately proved of the utmost practical value, and his concluding notes ended significantly: "Begin the hallowed task at once, and He who takes delight in Zion will establish the work of your hands."

When in 1881 the new Yishub (settlement) in Palestine came into being, it found a *point d'appui* in Sir Moses Montefiore's undertakings

there, and the historic gathering of the Chovevé Zion at Kattowitz in 1884 received the benediction of the centenarian lover of Zion. We have it on record that, with his unswerving faith in the literal fulfilment of the sacred prophecies, he believed in the ultimate restoration of Israel to its ancient land. "I am quite certain of it", he maintained; "it has been my constant dream, and I hope it will be realized some day when I shall be no more." He reconciled his robust patriotism with his Jewish aspirations by the observation:—"I do not expect that all Israelites will quit their abodes in those territories in which they feel happy, even as there are Englishmen in Hungary, Germany, America, and Japan; but Palestine must belong to the Jews, and Jerusalem is destined to become the seat of a Jewish Empire."

It is an interesting speculation whether Sir Moses Montefiore would have supported Theodor Herzl, but it would be rash to dogmatize on the subject. We may, however, well believe that, like Baron Edmond de Rothschild, the most illustrious Jewish philanthropist of our own generation, who had already in Sir Moses' time initiated his great work in Palestine, Moses Montefiore would have been heart and soul with the National revival of the Jews in the Holy Land, even if other considerations had not permitted him to associate himself officially

with the Zionist Organization. Dr. Herzl, a Jewish leader almost without equal since Bar Cochba, came to his people as a deliverer from its bondage by international and political action. Moses Montefiore still belonged to those who believed in the efficacy of philanthropy and education for the solution of the many Jewish local problems; he had grown up amidst the struggle for Jewish emancipation, when the Jew's unalterable loyalty to the land of his birth or allegiance was proclaimed as a fundamental principle—he could not be expected to give up the work and ideals of his life—but even those who might think that he would not have entered the promised land, must feel that he already saw it and that his heart rejoiced at the vision.

I

HIS FAMILY

The family of Moses Montefiore belonged to a branch of the Jewish people which was comparatively the most favorably placed, both intellectually and materially, in the Jewish life of its time. As is indicated by the surname, probably derived from one of the several townships in Italy called Montefiore,[1] the family was of Italian origin, and settled in England in the middle of the eighteenth century.

The conditions in Italy since the Renaissance made the position of the Jews in that country during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries more tolerable than it was in the Dispersion generally. The wealth and enterprise of the merchant princes and the great trading centres of Italy gave the local Jews a solid basis for their prosperity without incurring the usual jealousies and hostility to which they were exposed in other parts, while the freedom of

[1] On the occasion of Sir Moses Montefiore's centenary, the mayor of the municipality of Montefiore dell'Aso, in the province of Ascoli Piceno, in congratulating him on behalf of the commune claimed (though apparently without positive proof) that Sir Moses' ancestors had come from that place.

Italian intellectual life also acted as a stimulus on the Jews. The central authorities of the Church, too, were more lenient to the remnant of Israel that had found a scanty shelter within their own rich domains than to those Jews who were living in the outlying parts of Christendom.

The earliest extant reference to the Montefiore family dates back to the year 1630, when Judah (Leone)[2] Montefiore (born 1605) presented to the Levantine Synagogue at Ancona a Parocheth (curtain of the Ark)[3] richly worked in gold thread and red silk by his wife Rachel, *née* Olivetti. The Montefiores had lived previously at Pesaro, and from Ancona members of the family moved to Leghorn. It was Moses Haim (Vita)[4]

[2] The equivalence of Judah to "Lion" and its various forms (Leon, Leopold, Lionel, Löw, Leib, etc.) is derived from Gen. 49.9.

[3] L. Wolf, "Anglo-Jewish Coats of Arms," Trans. Jewish Hist. Socy., 1894–5. This still existing curtain of the Ark contains various details that are to be found in the Montefiore Coat of Arms, which was registered by Moses Montefiore at Herald's College, on January 28, 1819, the motto chosen by him being "Think and Thank". In a MS., entitled "Kan Zippor" ("A Bird's Nest"), treating of the Massorah of the Psalms by Joseph, son of Jacob Montefiore, of Pesaro (dated 1745, and now in the Montefiore College, Ramsgate), there is a drawing which gives the emblems that were afterwards incorporated in the Montefiore Coat of Arms.

[4] Haim = Vita (Life) is a name often found among the Montefiores. Sir Moses Montefiore was also called

Montefiore, born at Leghorn on December 28, 1712, and married to Esther Hannah, *née* Racah, on March 29, 1752, who, about the year 1744, settled in London.[5] Here was born on October 15, 1759, the fourth of his seventeen children, Joseph Elias, the father of the subject of this biography.

In London, Moses Haim Montefiore not only laid the basis of the family fortunes, but founded those associations which were to prove of great importance in the rise of the Montefiores to distinction. The Congregation of Sephardi (Spanish and Portuguese) Jews, "Shaar Hashamaim" (The Gate of Heaven), in London, which dated back to the days of Cromwell and centred round the still existing Synagogue in Bevis Marks, was one of the most remarkable Jewish communities: highly cultured, wealthy and influential. In these respects, it had practically its only counterpart in the congregation of Amsterdam, of which, by the mission of Manasseh ben Israel to England in the year 1655 and the subsequent migration of many notable members, theLondon community largely formed an offshoot.

Moses Haim (like his grandfather and godfather) but he did not use the second name.

[5] The first reference to Moses Haim Montefiore in the books of the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue in London appears in a list of Yehidim assessed on Adar 4, 5504–1744. He died in London on November 13, 1789.

MOSES MONTEFIORE

(From an etching by Richard Dighton, dated 1818)

Both here and there, the Marranos, as the secret Jews in Spain and Portugal and their American dominions were called, had found a refuge from the dangers threatening them in the Iberian peninsula and its dependencies, where, since the great expulsion from Spain in 1492, Judaism was a proscribed religion that had defied extirpation by torture and stake. But what was the loss of Spain and Portugal proved the gain of Holland and England. Merchant princes in the Old and the New World, who saw their lives in jeopardy and their possessions liable to confiscation, chose the safer and, at least in this case, the more honorable course of settling in those parts where they could not only find scope for their commercial enterprise, but also for the full and unfettered exercise of their religious convictions and conscience. These men, welcomed in the great seaports of the North Sea and the Mediterranean, not only gave a romantic background to the Jewish communities they formed or reinforced, but they provided also those aspects of well-being and dignity in which the Jews of those times were so conspicuously in need.

It was such congenial and promising surroundings that Moses Haim Montefiore found on his arrival in England. He was a man of only moderate means,[6] but his social standing and

[6] His Synagogue assessment was at first only 10/per

family connections[7] placed him among the important members of the community.[8] He rose to affluence as a merchant trading with his native country of Italy, and took a prominent part in the affairs of the Bevis Marks Synagogue, but his claim to remembrance lies more in his having been the parent of a family of seventeen children, some of whom are worthy of note. One of them, Joshua, was not only a successful author on subjects relating to commerce and law, but was the first Jewish officer in the British Army, and had an extraordinarily adventurous career in the colonies. Though not with such a romantic record, Moses Haim Montefiore's fourth son, Joseph Elias, who was the first child to be born to him in England (died January 11, 1804), achieved permanent fame as the father of Sir Moses Montefiore and the progenitor of a family that has enriched Anglo-Jewish life in many directions.

In 1783, Joseph Elias Montefiore married Rachel, daughter of Abraham Lumbrozo de

annum, the highest assessment being £18.15.0 and the lowest 2/6.

[7] Sir Solomon de Medina, who financed Marlborough's campaigns in the War of the Spanish Succession and was the first professing Jew knighted in England, was among his maternal relatives established in London.

[8] In the year 1776 we find him as one of the Fintadores (assessors of the Congregational Tax) among men of distinction within and without the community.

Mattos Mocatta. He thereby became allied to one of the most ancient Jewish families in England, a family distinguished by a remarkable record of devotion to Jewish public service.

Of such good stock came Moses Montefiore, the eldest of a family of three sons and five daughters. One of the sons, Abraham, had, by his second marriage with Henrietta Rothschild, two sons—Joseph Mayer, the father of Sir Francis Abraham Montefiore (born 1860) and Nathaniel, the father of Mr. Claude Goldsmid Montefiore (born 1858)—and two daughters, Charlotte and Louisa, the latter married to Sir Anthony de Rothschild. Sarah, one of the sisters of Moses Montefiore, married Solomon Sebag, father of Sir Joseph Sebag Montefiore (1822–1903), the heir of Sir Moses Montefiore.[9]

The alliances of the Montefiores not only brought them into intimate relationship with the leading families of the Sephardi Congregation,

[9] Sir Joseph's eldest son, Arthur Montefiore Sebag Montefiore (1853–1895), married Harriette Beddington, and, after Sir Joseph's death in 1903, she became the châtelaine of East Cliff Lodge, the Montefiore Estate in Ramsgate. On her death in 1924, she has been succeeded in her position at East Cliff Lodge by the widow of her eldest son (Robert Montefiore Sebag-Montefiore, who died in 1915 of wounds received in the British Campaign in Gallipoli), the Hon. Ida Marie Sebag-Montefiore (a daughter of Lord Bearsted, formerly Sir Marcus Samuel, Bart., Lord Mayor of London).

such as the Mocattas and Lindos,[10] but, through his marriage with Judith Cohen, Moses Montefiore became associated also with the most prominent men of the other, the Ashkenazi (Polish-German), section of the Jewish community in London. Judith Cohen, afterwards Lady Montefiore (born February 20, 1784, nearly nine months before her husband),[11] was the daughter of Levi Barent Cohen (1740–1808),

[10] David Abarbanel Lindo (1772–1852), remarkable as the father of 21 children, many of them prominent in Anglo-Jewish communal life, was Sir Moses' uncle by marriage with Sarah, daughter of his maternal grandfather, Abraham Lumbrozo de Mattos Mocatta.

The continuity in the administration of the Spanish and Portuguese Congregation in London (and of the Jewish public spirit of its leading families) is exemplified by Sir Francis Abraham Montefiore, Bart., the president of the Board of Elders; Mr. Eustace Almosnino Lindo, the vice-president of the Elders; Mr. Moses Albert Norsa Lindo (a great-grandson of the above-mentioned D. A. Lindo), chairman of the College Heshaim (founded 1664) and president of the congregational Board of Guardians; and Mr. Edward Lumbrozo Mocatta, the president of the Congregational Orphanage (founded 1703).

[11] Lady Montefiore's original Hebrew name was Ita or Yatta, as given in the Ketubah (Hebrew marriage contract), as she is still called in the Hashkabah (memorial prayer) recited in the Bevis Marks Synagogue; but she became afterwards popularly known by the name of Yehudith. Her birthday was generally celebrated at East Cliff Lodge in the month of October in connection with Sabbath Bereshith.

a native of Holland, who, settling in England, became notable as the father-in-law of a number of men of great capacity and distinction. Moses Montefiore thereby became a brother-in-law of Nathan Mayer Rothschild (the founder of the English branch of the house),[12] and was on the closest terms with him in Jewish communal affairs as well as in the financial and political world in which the Rothschilds were to play so eminent a part. The link between these two great families was further strengthened by the subsequent marriage of Moses Montefiore's brother Abraham to Henrietta, a sister of Nathan Mayer Rothschild. For the first thirteen years of their married life, Moses and Judith Montefiore lived next to N. M. Rothschild at 4 New Court, St. Swithin's Lane, in the City of London, now occupied as offices by the firm N. M. Rothschild and Sons.

[12] Nathan Mayer Rothschild married Hannah Cohen. Henrietta, a sister of N. M. Rothschild, was married to Abraham Montefiore, a brother of Sir Moses. The first Lord Rothschild (also Nathan [or Nathaniel] Mayer de Rothschild), who was the first N. M. Rothschild's grandson, was thus Sir Moses' grand-nephew.

II

CITY LIFE

The birth of Moses Montefiore took place at Leghorn, Italy, on Heshvan 9, 5545—October 24, 1784—while his parents were on a visit to that city, the former home of the family. When Joseph Elias Montefiore, who dealt in straw bonnets and marble, proposed to proceed to Italy on business, his wife, Rachel, expressed a desire to accompany him, and with them went her brother, Moses Mocatta. The happy event took place in the Via Reale, opposite the Great Synagogue, at the house of Moses Haim Racah, a great-uncle of the newly-born, who now also became his godfather.

In London the parents of Moses Montefiore lived at No. 3, Kennington Place, near Kennington Park. Moses left school early, but, in later life, he was much given to improving his education, and, possessing a fine literary perception, developed an unusually high degree of culture. He was particularly favored in having as his tutor and guide in religious matters his uncle, Moses Mocatta, a man who, in his day, excelled in the knowledge of Hebrew and of Jewish literature. Moses Mocatta (1768–1857) was also of a deep spiritual dis-

position and the author of a number of books relating to Judaism.[13] Moses Montefiore never acquired a sufficiently proficient grasp of Hebrew to enable him to deal with his large correspondence in that language without the aid of a secretary, but his profound love for the ancient tongue, then sacred rather than living, may be largely attributed to the early influence of his uncle.

His first business experience he gained as a lad at a firm of provision merchants in the City of London,[14] but it was not long before he was attracted to the Stock Exchange, where so many of his relatives had secured great wealth and influence. He was among the fortunate few who, with the disabilities then attaching to English Jews, could in 1815 gain the much coveted Broker's Medal, a privilege limited to twelve Hebrews and only obtained for him by his uncles at the high cost of £1200. He established himself at Grigsby's Coffee House, near the Bank of England, and derived considerable advantage from his family relationship with the Rothschilds, for whom he came to act as broker, with the Cohens and with the members

[13] Moses Mocatta is chiefly known as the English translator of Isaac Troki's famous anti-Christian book "Hizzuk Emunah" ("The Strengthening of the Faith").

[14] Johnson, McCulloch, Sons and Co., of 19 Eastcheap.

of so great a firm as Mocatta and Goldsmid,[15] bullion brokers, who were installed in the same house. All accounts of him go to show that he manifested conspicuous perspicacity and enterprise in his financial undertakings. When on a certain day, at five o'clock in the morning, he was apprised by his brother-in-law, Nathan Mayer Rothschild, of the escape of Napoleon from Elba, it was left to Moses Montefiore to turn the exclusive information Rothschild had received through his French courier to profitable account. He was among the first to issue weekly price-lists of stocks quoted on the Exchange. At the same time he was not altogether spared financial trouble in his business career, through deceit of one in whom he had trusted. In his Diary, where he manifested the strong, if occasionally quaintly expressed, faith in Divine guidance and assistance to which he attributed his successful operations on 'Change, he made the following note on August 20, 1831: "This day, five and twenty years ago, in 1806, J. E. D. robbed me of all I possessed in the world, and left me deeply in debt; but it pleased the Almighty in His great mercy to enable me in the course of a few years to pay everyone

[15] At Asher Goldsmid's house, Moses Montefiore met Lord Nelson at dinner and intoned in his presence the Hebrew grace after meals (Wolf, Moses Montefiore, A Centennial Biography; p. 16).

who had been a sufferer through me to the full extent of their loss."

Moses Montefiore was not only connected with the Stock Exchange and with the banking business in which, during the Napoleonic upheaval, the Jewish financiers in London played a large part,[16] but he likewise engaged in notable commercial ventures. He was one of the founders, and remained until his death the president, of the Imperial Continental Gas Association and of the Alliance Assurance Company,[17] both important concerns at the present day.

The Imperial Continental Gas Association, which still owns a large number of gas works

[16] Among his notable financial transactions may be mentioned the issue by Moses Montefiore and Nathan Mayer Rothschild in 1835 of the West Indian Loan of £15,000,000, to enable the British Government to carry the Slave Emancipation Act into effect.

[17] The establishment of the Alliance Assurance Co. in 1824 by Moses Montefiore, Nathan Mayer Rothschild and others, was brought about by the alleged refusal of the Guardian Assurance Co. to appoint Mr. Benjamin Gompertz, a distinguished mathematician and a brother-in-law of Montefiore, to the post of actuary, on account of his being a Jew. (Wolf, op. cit., p. 26). It is interesting to observe that the post of actuary in the Alliance Co. has been held by a number of Jews, among them Marcus Nathan Adler, a son of the Chief Rabbi Nathan Marcus Adler. After Sir Moses Montefiore, Lord Rothschild became the managing director of the Alliance, and on his death the position was filled by his son, the Hon. Nathaniel Charles Rothschild.

on the European continent, was a pioneer in the use of gas lighting, and earned for Moses Montefiore the highly valued distinction of a Fellow of the Royal Society, that was conferred on him in the year 1836. He was likewise, on their establishment, appointed a director of the South Eastern Railway Company and of the Provincial Bank of Ireland, which latter position gained him the freedom of the town of Londonderry. He, however, refused an offer to become a director of a company which was formed in the twenties to promote a scheme which subsequently developed into the Panama Canal, as he likewise declined a proposal made to him in 1855 by de Lesseps to be associated with his proposed project of the Suez Canal.

Moses Montefiore was joined in partnership by his brother Abraham, the business being carried on at Bartholomew Lane under the title of Montefiore Bros., and when Abraham died in 1824, Moses Montefiore's predilections for public life led him soon afterwards to wind up the firm. In this, as in everything else, he took the advice of his wife: "Thank God to be content", and at the early age of forty he retired from the Stock Exchange—only retaining an active interest in a number of companies with which he was connected—in order to devote the remainder of his life to the service of his people and his country.

III

EARLY COMMUNAL ACTIVITIES

Moses Montefiore's interest in the public life of the Jewish community came to him by family tradition as well as by personal inclination. In the London Synagogue of Spanish and Portuguese Jews, the Montefiores and a limited number of other families had for generations served it faithfully, and had held the offices of honor and dignity at the disposal of the Congregation. It was a remarkable experiment in Jewish communal administration, and, if it be compared with the fortunes and fate of other Jewish comunities, has stood the test well for a period of over 250 years. It would be difficult, if at all possible, to point to any other Jewish house of worship which has been the centre and inspiration of so high a record of Jewish public spirit or of so valuable a sense of individual and corporate duty as the Synagogue in Bevis Marks, of which Moses Montefiore was throughout his life a most devoted member, and to which he bequeathed the administration of his benefactions after his death.

The eagerness of Moses Montefiore to take his place among the active members of the Synagogue is manifested by his application for ad-

mission as Yahid (assessed member) of the Congregation at the age of twenty, although the earliest age at which persons were eligible for election was twenty-one. It was on November 4, 1804, on the day that Raphael Meldola was appointed Haham (Chief Rabbi), that Moses Montefiore was elected a Yahid, and shortly afterwards he began to take up various duties and offices in connection with the Congregation. He became associated with all the numerous organizations that made up the rich life of this historic Jewish body. He was elected Gabay (treasurer) of the Synagogue in 1814, and thereby became one of the Elders of the "Nation", to use the term then in vogue to designate the Jewish community, in this case a section of it.

The congregational activities of Moseh de Joseph Eliahu Montefiore (as he is referred to in the Synagogue records) formed part of the daily round of his work. In 1819 he was elected Parnas (warden) of the Congregation, an office he filled on six different occasions. He was a regular worshipper at the Bevis Marks Synagogue, around which clustered not only the congregational Schools, College, Orphanage, Almshouses and official dwellings, but also the Vestry, where the Elders of the Nation and the London Committee of Deputies of the British Jews (founded by the Elders of that Synagogue in 1760) met to deliberate on the affairs of the Jews in general

as well as of those in England, and where Moses Montefiore was almost in daily attendance. Personal charity was still at that time the usual method of relieving the poor, even communal charity being dispensed at the private discretion of those entrusted with it. In 1823 he presented to the Synagogue thirteen houses in Cock Court and Jewry Street, to be used as almshouses for the congregational poor.

The daily routine of Moses Montefiore at that time is best illustrated by an entry in his Diary in the year 1820:

> "With God's blessing,—Rise, say prayers at 7 o'clock. Breakfast at 9. Attend the Stock Exchange, if in London, at 10. Dinner 5. Read, write and learn, if possible, Hebrew and French, 6. Read Bible and say prayers, 10. Then retire.
>
> "Monday and Thursday mornings attend the Synagogue. Tuesday and Thursday evenings for visiting.
>
> "I attended many meetings at the City of London Tavern, also several charitable meetings at Bevis Marks in connection with the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue; sometimes passing the whole day there from ten in the morning till half-past eleven at night, excepting two hours for dinner in the Committee Room; answered in the evening 350 petitions from poor women, and also made frequent visits to the Villareal School."[18]

In the year 1831, Moses Montefiore laid

[18] Dr. L. Loewe, Diaries of Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore, Vol. 1, p. 25.

the foundation of a new and interesting centre of Jewish life by the purchase of East Cliff Lodge in Ramsgate. There is no seigneurial residence of modern times which, in Jewish associations, can be compared with this mansion at that popular seaside resort on the coast of Kent. Built about the year 1795 in Gothic style, it had as residents Lord Elphinstone, the Marquis Wellesley (a brother of the Duke of Wellington) and Queen Caroline when Princess of Wales. It is charmingly situated on a high cliff amidst beautifully laid-out grounds, and has two subterranean passages, said to have been the work of smugglers, which lead to the shore below. By the acquisition of East Cliff Lodge and its neighboring land, Moses Montefiore became the most prominent figure of Ramsgate, and his standing was subsequently recognized by his being appointed High Sheriff for the county of Kent and Deputy Lieutenant for Kent. On a visit to Ramsgate, in 1835, of the Duchess of Kent with her daughter, the Princess Victoria (afterwards Queen of England), when, together with the Deputy of the town, he headed the civic procession that received their Royal Highnesses (and the then King and Queen of the Belgians), the secluded grounds of East Cliff Lodge were thrown open to the royal party by the presentation of a key "enwrapped in the handsomest mazarine blue

ribbon that the town of Ramsgate could supply." Afterwards, when Princess Victoria and her sister stayed for some time in neighboring Broadstairs, the owner of East Cliff Lodge had, in a true knightly manner, a special gate made in the wall for his visitors' convenience. This latter courtesy brought him a note from the Duchess of Kent in the characteristic style of the time:

"Sir John Conroy presents his compliments, and in obedience to a command he has just received from the Duchess of Kent, hastens to acquaint Mr. Montefiore that Her Royal Highness is exceedingly gratified and obliged by his attention in making a new access to his charming grounds from Broadstairs for her convenience, but Her Royal Highness fears she has given a great deal of trouble."

Moses and Judith Montefiore consecrated their residence in Ramsgate by the erection of a Synagogue, which, amply endowed, will for all time remain a worthy monument to them. The dedication of the Synagogue in 1833 was made by the pious couple the occasion of a festive reunion of English Jewry, and there were no more faithful and devoted worshippers in that simple yet stately house of prayer than those who had erected it to the glory of God. Particularly on occasions of Jewish holydays, East Cliff Lodge had many distinguished visi-

tors from London, who came to spend the sacred season with the Montefiores. It was his custom to be the Hatan Torah ("The Bridegroom of the Law") at the Tabernacle festival at his synagogue in Ramsgate, and his tastefully equipped Succah (tabernacle) at the Lodge was thronged with friends and congregants who came to partake of refreshments or to dine at his joyous board.

Sir Moses Montefiore Bart

Coat of Arms of Sir Moses Montefiore

IV

POLITICAL ACTIVITIES

The early manhood of Moses Montefiore was passed amidst the throes of the struggle for Jewish emancipation in England. He was by family association in close touch with those who led the efforts that were then made to remove the civil and political disabilities that hampered the economic development and social ambitions of the Jews in that country. Those disabilities were imposed upon the Jews in their legal quality of Nonconformists, quite apart from the fact that they were a non-Christian body, in a State with an all-embracing Established Church. The Jews, therefore, had the co-operation of Christian Dissenters in the general movement for civil and political equality, while the exceptionally high character and influence of the heads of the Jewish Community in London provided a favorable basis for Jewish efforts in that direction. The current feeling of friendliness toward the Jews in the conservative but highly enlightened City of London gave those endeavors a powerful force which in the end proved irresistible.

The official representation of Jewish interests was in the hands of the London Committee

of Deputies of the British Jews (of which Moses Montefiore became a member in 1828), which was then engaged in the early stages of the parliamentary negotiations for the repeal of Jewish disabilities. Following a petition to the House of Lords in 1829, another petition was prepared in 1830 for presentation to both Houses of Parliament, and Moses Montefiore (together with Baron Lionel de Rothschild, Moses Mocatta, Lyon Isaac Goldsmid and Joshua Van Oven) was appointed a member of the Committee to ascertain the government's probable attitude towards it and to make the necessary arrangements accordingly. In 1835, Mr. Montefiore became president of the Board in succession to his uncle Moses Mocatta. The year was also notable for the fact that it saw the appointment of a Committee to frame the Board's first Constitution, which, by the inclusion of a larger number of Synagogues in London and the provinces, gave a more representative character to that body. In 1845 he headed a deputation to Sir Robert Peel on the subject of the removal of Jewish disabilities, and a petition from the Board was submitted to the House of Commons on the subsequent presentation of a Bill (which was passed as a law) enabling Jews to fill municipal offices.

As president of the Board of Deputies, Moses Montefiore took a leading part in the

complete enfranchisement, social as well as political, of the British Jews. He himself was a most worthy representative of the members of his ancient race claiming to be in all respects the equals of their fellow-citizens. He had the good fortune to be associated with aristocratic circles who, in spite of their strait principles and conservative views, were remarkably free from the virulently anti-Jewish taint that still exists among the feudal classes on the European continent. In the case of Moses Montefiore, it was more than a social ambition to be afforded the opportunities of close contact with the most influential personalities in the land; it proved a distinct gain for the Jewish cause generally. Already in 1829 he had the honor of being presented to King William IV by the Duke of Norfolk at a dance given by his Majesty. It was certainly extraordinary for a Jew in the thirties of the nineteenth century to be presented at the Court of St. James's by no less a personage than the Duke of Norfolk, the first peer of the realm, whilst a Jewish lady, in the person of Mrs. Montefiore, was presented to the Queen by the Countess of Albemarle. In 1830 he was elected a member of the Athenæum, the most exclusive Club in London, composed of men distinguished in science, letters and art. He was the first Jew to be elected (in 1837) a Fellow of the Royal Society, the foremost scientific body in the United Kingdom.

In view of the exceptional interest which Queen Victoria always took in his philanthropic endeavors, it is of interest to recall in Moses Montefiore's own words an invitation he had to dine with her before she ascended the throne of England. In his Diary he writes on October 11, 1836:

> "I attended Synagogue, and a little before seven went in our chariot to West Cliff, where I had the honour of dining with their Royal Highnesses the Duchess of Kent and the Princess Victoria. The other guests were Sir John Conroy, the Dean of Chester, Mr. Justice Gaselee, the Rector of St. Lawrence, the Hon. Col. Stopford, and one other lady and gentleman. I took down the Colonel's wife and sat opposite to the Princess. There were thirteen at table, and it was impossible for it to have been more agreeable. I never felt myself more at ease at any dinner party within my recollection. The behaviour of the Duchess was most kind and condescending, and all the party were extremely amiable and chatty. The entertainment was truly Royal, and after dinner, when the gentlemen had joined the ladies in the drawing-room, where tea and coffee were served, the Duchess again spoke to each of us. The Princess Sophia Matilda was also present. I returned home quite enraptured with the very kind and obliging manner in which I had been distinguished by her Royal Highness."

It may be added that on July 19, 1837, Moses Montefiore attended the first Levee given by the Queen on her accession, and on the following day he and his wife were again in-

vited to the Queen's drawing-room at St. James's Palace.

Frankly gratified as he appears to have been by these marks of royal favor and social distinction, he showed nevertheless a befitting restraint in the pursuit of office. It was in this spirit that he received the intimation that he would be nominated as Sheriff of London and Middlesex, to which office he was unanimously elected in 1836. It was thus that he records his sentiments on being elected to a position of honor which might conflict with the duties he owed to his faith:

> "I shall have the greatest difficulties to contend with in the execution of my duty; difficulties which I shall meet with at the very outset. The day I enter on my office is the commencement of our New Year. I shall therefore have to walk to Westminster instead of going in my state carriage, nor, I fear, shall I be able to dine with my friends at the inauguration dinner which, from time immemorial, is given on the 30th of September. I shall, however, endeavour to persuade my colleagues to change the day to the 5th of October."

It may be added, as a tribute to the enlightened spirit which then animated the Livery of London, that the Sheriffs' inauguration dinner was actually changed from the 30th of September to the 5th of October to meet Mr. Montefiore's religious susceptibilities. When in 1846 Lord John Russell, as Prime Minister, introduced

in the House of Commons a Bill for the removal of Jewish disabilities, Sir Robert Peel, the former Premier, spoke against the motion; on the second reading, however, he surprised the House by pleading the cause of Jewish emancipation. He did this with special reference to Sir Moses Montefiore. Sir Robert Peel, alluding to the humanitarian missions of Sir Moses, said:

> "He carried with him letters of recommendation from British Ministers, certifying his high character for integrity and honour and the purity of the motives by which he was actuated. How much more persuasive would those have been if they could have announced the fact that every ancient prejudice against the Jews had been extinguished here, and that the Jew was on a perfect equality, as to civil rights, with his Christian fellow-citizens."

In 1837, Moses Montefiore was elected Sheriff of the City of London, the second Jew to hold this office. It was the year of Queen Victoria's accession to the throne, when it fell to Moses Montefiore to lead a deputation bearing congratulations from the Board of Deputies, and another from the Borough of Ramsgate, and to join a deputation of the Livery of London. When the young Queen entered the City of London on Lord Mayor's Day, the 9th of November, the honor of knighthood was conferred on him. "On my kneeling to the Queen", he relates, "she placed a sword on my left shoulder and said,

'Rise, Sir Moses'. I cannot express all I felt on this occasion. I had, besides, the pleasure of seeing my banner with 'Jerusalem' floating proudly in the hall."

V

VISITS TO PALESTINE

In the year 1827 Moses Montefiore took the most momentous step of his public life by the fulfilment of a long-cherished wish to visit the Holy Land. In 1826 he had retired from business on the Stock Exchange, but, instead of confining himself to local interests and ambitions, he was led by an irresistible attraction of the ancestral land of his people to develop a universal view of the Jewish situation.

It is hardly possible to exaggerate the historic consequences of this initial step in his devotion to the welfare of the Jews in Palestine. He was the first Jew of distinction from Western Europe who, in modern times, not only made a devoted pilgrimage to the land of the ancient glories of Israel, but who went there again and again filled with an ever-growing desire to revive on the sacred soil the honor of the Jewish name.

The state of the Jews in the land of their forefathers was then abject indeed. There were at that time in Jerusalem about 200 Portuguese and 160 German Jews, and nearly 200 elderly widows in great distress. They were grievously oppressed and taxed, and they were so little regarded that when Mr. and Mrs.

Montefiore stayed there with one of their own people, the Governor expressed regret that they should have gone to the Jews. Mr. Montefiore's reply on that occasion gave the keynote to his subsequent career: "I hope I shall ever live and die in the society of my brethren of Israel."

It was on May 1, 1827 that Moses and Judith Montefiore left London for their first visit to the Holy Land, and they arrived in Jerusalem on October 17th. The journey began, in accordance with their custom on notable occasions, with a visit to the Bevis Marks Synagogue. They proceeded to Egypt through France and Italy, travelling in their own carriage, and taking along with them tents that were then required in the absence of hotel accommodation. The Near East was then in a state of great turmoil, and the traveller in those parts was beset with serious risks from brigands and pirates by land and sea. Mr. Montefiore was furnished with an introduction to Admiral Codrington, who was in command of the British Fleet in the Mediterranean, and he likewise enjoyed the assistance of the English consular authorities *en route.* From Naples, Mr. and Mrs. Montefiore proceeded to Malta, where they were received with great courtesy by the Governor and the English residents, and then they took a boat to Alexandria, paying no less than £550 for the pas-

sage of themselves and two servants. In Cairo, Mr. Montefiore was presented to the Pasha of Egypt, Mehemet Ali, with whom he had a long and very friendly interview. The journey to Palestine had still many difficulties for them, but both Mrs. Montefiore and her intrepid husband risked the venturesome undertaking.

It was in no spirit of mere curiosity, that this couple, so worthy of each other, had come to the Holy Land, but with a piety which consecrated all their interest in its welfare. Their stay in Jerusalem was only for three days, but it gave rise to memories that influenced the whole course of their lives.

The return journey was likewise beset with many difficulties, and they did not arrive at Dover until February 28. The battle of Navarino was fought on the day before they left Jerusalem. On his arrival in London, Mr. Montefiore proceeded to the Admiralty to deliver a despatch on the battle that had been entrusted to him in Malta by the victor of Navarino, Admiral Codrington. On the following day he was requested to call on the Duke of Clarence (afterwards William IV) in order to acquaint him personally with the stirring events that had lately taken place in the Near East.

* * *

Twelve years passed, during which time we find Moses Montefiore taking a prominent part in the life of the Jewish community and in public affairs generally. Coming into contact with the highest in the land, attending the Queen's Court, dining at the Archbishop of Canterbury's Palace at Lambeth, enjoying the personal regard and society of members of the nobility and of the leaders of political parties, having been elected the first Jewish Fellow of the Royal Society, he had become a Jewish grand seigneur, upon whom his community came to look with admiration and hope. His election as Sheriff of the City of London gave him an official status of distinction, which was fittingly crowned by a knighthood.

* * *

The fame of Sir Moses Montefiore began to spread far and wide among his brethren. It is not apparent that beyond his active participation in the work of the Jewish Board of Deputies, of which he became president in 1835, he had been rendering them any personal service, but from his interest in the Holy Land emanated a halo which became inseparably attached to his name. Their short stay in Jerusalem had left ineffaceable memories and longings in

the minds and hearts of Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore. In 1833 they erected the Synagogue in Ramsgate "in commemoration of the happy event of their visit to the Holy City of Jerusalem, the inheritance of their forefathers." In November 1838, at the close of his shrievalty, he undertook again with his wife another pilgrimage to Palestine. It was apparently an event to which, amidst his many preoccupations, he had been looking forward with keen interest. "Now", he states towards the close of his shrievalty, "with the blessing of the Almighty we will commence preparations for revisiting the Holy Land". The events of their itinerary *viâ* Brussels, Aix-la-Chapelle, Strasbourg, Avignon, Marseilles, Nice, Genoa, on to Rome and Naples, their experiences and emotions, are graphically described by Mrs. Montefiore in a volume entitled "Notes from a Private Journal of a Visit to Egypt and Palestine by way of Italy and the Mediterranean," which, dedicated "to the beloved companion" of her journey, was printed anonymously in 1844 for private circulation. These records give one the impression of a cultured couple who, with all their varied interests, seem to have been particularly attracted by every phase of life that touched their race or faith. To them it was immaterial how lowly the state of their people, how sordid their sur-

roundings, how strange in habit or speech they were, for in their eyes the mere fact that they were hewn of the same rock and prayed to the God of Israel was enough to transfigure them in the eyes of these Jewish travellers and observers. It is worthy of all praise that in the journals and diaries of both Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore, there is throughout a touching love of everything affecting Jews and Judaism, no matter how uninviting the garb in which they may have presented themselves.

Their reception in some of the Jewish communities they visited was at times almost overwhelming in the effusive manifestation of respect paid to them. Particularly the ceremonials which attended their visits to various Synagogues in Rome give an indication of the sentiments which the Montefiores had already then inspired among their co-religionists:

> "The eagerness to attend us and show us respect," Lady Montefiore records in her Diary, "is beyond description, and certainly beyond our desert..... We again attended Synagogue, and were received in state by the deputies, a vast concourse of persons gazing at and following us. Soldiers were stationed at the entrance and in the interior of the buildings, and presented arms at our approach."
>
> "I accompanied my dear M— to Synagogue", further relates Lady Montefiore, "where several ladies awaited me...A crimson velvet and gold chair was placed in the centre for me, and the whole in-

terior of the building was illuminated with wax candles and lamps, the walls being hung with rich crimson satin, while the crowns and bell of the Sepharim were of chased gold and silver, and the cloaks of rich brocaded silk, embroidered with flowers and various devices, and with the arms of the donor I was conducted down, and requested to walk through in gold and silver. At the conclusion of the service the synagogue, and sit in the chair appropriated to the Haham. Embarrasing as was the proffered honour, I did not like to refuse it, lest my doing so might have offended the kind feelings of those by whom it was tendered."

On this second journey to Palestine, they were fortunate in having as a companion Dr. Louis Loewe, who thenceforth became the friend and adviser of Sir Moses Montefiore in all his Jewish efforts of mercy, emancipation and scholarship. They had already met in London in 1835, when, at the request of the Montefiores, Dr. Loewe had drawn up a plan for a future visit to Palestine. The opportunity for carrying such a plan into effect happily presented itself when they again met in Rome, and Dr. Loewe accepted the invitation of Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore to join them as a travelling companion. Dr. Loewe had only recently been in the Holy Land, and had to his credit not only an encyclopedic knowledge of Oriental languages, but, by his adventurous experiences in various parts of Turkey, in Greece, etc., he also had exceptional knowledge of Eastern life.

In England he had already enjoyed the patronage of the scholarly Duke of Sussex, and in Rome he was then engaged in researches at the Vatican Library. Added to these qualifications, Dr. Loewe possessed the supreme merit of being deeply devoted to Judaism, and his influence over the Montefiores was exerted in its highest interests.

The political state of Turkey was then so chaotic that the journey to Palestine presented formidable dangers, and the country itself, being infested with brigands and suffering from the plague, was in a rather forbidding condition. It is, therefore, not surprising that, although Sir Moses would not think of abandoning his trip, he proposed to leave his wife behind in Malta, in order not to expose her to unwonted hardships and likely dangers, but she would not hear of it. "This I peremptorily resisted", she records in a characteristic vein, "and the expressions of Ruth furnished my heart at the moment with the language it most desired to use: 'Entreat me not to leave thee, or to return from following after thee; for whither thou goest, I will go, and where thou lodgest, I will lodge.'"

Their arrival in Beyrout was the prelude to a great welcome that awaited them from their people. Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore received the most courteous attention and ready assistance of the authorities, but the party, who

were to proceed to Safed, were unable to get an armed escort and had to trust to their own good fortune to make the journey in safety, rather endangered by the possession of considerable sums of ready money for distribution among the poor. Dr. Loewe had to keep watch with a loaded pistol while Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore passed the night sleeping in the open. But the scenes of intense enthusiasm that awaited them in Safed must have refreshed their wearied bodies.

The ovations accorded to the Montefiores by the Jews of Safed and elsewhere in Palestine, give one the impression of age-long, pent-up feelings of rejoicing which only found vent in affairs of family and religion, but had no opportunities of living national exaltation such as is afforded to more happily placed races. The Jews were likewise highly gratified at the manifestations of respect towards one of their co-religionists by the local Moslem authorities, and by the population generally, who looked upon Sir Moses not only as a powerful Frank but also as a personal friend of Mehemet Ali, the ruler of the country.

The Montefiores proceeded from Safed to Tiberias, and thence, *viâ* Nablous (Shechem), to Jerusalem. The devotional spirit in which these modern pilgrims approached the Holy

City is thus set out in Lady Montefiore's Diary:

"What the feelings of a traveller are, when among the mountains on which the awful power of the Almighty once visibly rested, and when approaching the city where he placed his name; whence his law was to go forth to all the world; where the beauty of holiness shone in its morning splendour; and to which, even in its sorrow and captivity, even in its desolation, the very Gentiles, the people of all nations of the earth, as well as its own children, look with profound awe and admiration—Oh! what the feelings of the traveller are on such a spot, and when listening to the enraptured tones of Israel's own inspired king, none can imagine but those who have had the privilege and the felicity to experience them!

"As we drew nearer to Jerusalem the aspect of the surrounding country became more and more sterile and gloomy. The land was covered with thorns and briars, and sadly did the words of the Psalmist rise to the thoughts: 'He turneth rivers into a wilderness, and the water-springs into dry ground; a fruitful land into barrenness, for the wickedness of them that dwell therein.'

"But solemn as were the feelings excited by the melancholy desolateness of the rocky hills and valleys through which we were passing, they were suddenly lost in a sense of rapture and indescribable joy, for now the Holy City itself rose full into view, with all its cupolas and minarets reflecting the splendour of the heavens. Dismounting from our horses, we sat down and poured forth the sentiments which so strongly animated our hearts, in devout praises to Him whose mercy and providence

> alone had thus brought us a second time, in health and safety, to the city of our fathers."

And in contemplating the vision before her, Judith Montefiore is led to exclaim:

> "The walls of the Temple may have yielded to the devastating arm of the conqueror; but Mount Zion itself standeth forever."

In Jerusalem their reception was of a most cordial character. Owing to an outbreak of the plague, they encamped in quarantine on the Mount of Olives. But the governor came out to greet them, and proposed that he should receive them officially in the city and proclaim a holiday in honor of the occasion.

Everywhere Sir Moses showered gifts on the poor, who indeed formed the overwhelming bulk of the Jewish population, but he was too keen-sighted not to recognize that doles were in no way an effective means of alleviating distress. The Jews of Palestine, almost all of whom had settled there from pietistic motives, and, without opportunities of earning their livelihood, were relying for their maintenance on the generosity of their co-religionists abroad, found in Sir Moses not merely a most sympathetic, but an eminently practical, friend. During this second visit to Palestine, he instituted a comprehensive statistical inquiry as to the condition of the Jewish population, and

made elaborate schemes for their economic development. In the following extract from his Diary he set out the proposals he had in view:

> "I am sure if the plan I have in contemplation should succeed, it will be the means of introducing happiness and plenty into the Holy Land. In the first instance, I shall apply to Mehemet Ali for a grant of land for fifty years; some one or two hundred villages; giving him an increased rent of from ten to twenty per cent., and paying the whole in money annually at Alexandria, but the land and villages to be free, during the whole term, from every tax or rate either of Pasha or governor of the several districts; and liberty being accorded to dispose of the produce in any quarter of the globe. This grant obtained, I shall, please Heaven, on my return to England, form a company for the cultivation of the land and the encouragement of our brethren in Europe to return to Palestine. Many Jews now emigrate to New South Wales, Canada, etc., but in the Holy Land they would find a greater certainty of success; here they will find wells already dug, olives and vines already planted, and a land so rich as to require little manure. By degrees I hope to induce the return of thousands of our brethren to the Land of Israel. I am sure they would be happy in the enjoyment of the observance of our holy religion, in a manner which is impossible in Europe."[19]

When on his way back to England, Sir Moses had an interview with Mehemet Ali with a view to an improvement of the condition of the Jews in Palestine, Sir Moses proposed the

[19] Ibid. I, p. 167.

establishment by him of a Joint Stock Bank with a capital of £1,000,000, and branches at Alexandria, Beyrout, Damascus, Jaffa, Jerusalem and Cairo.[20] Thus, with the encouraging promises of Mehemet Ali to grant wide scope for Jewish colonization in Palestine, Sir Moses arrived home in August 1839, after an absence of over nine months, full of ideas and hopes for the future.

[20] Ibid. I, pp. 199, 200.

VI

THE DAMASCUS AFFAIR

The ambitious schemes which were formulated by Sir Moses Montefiore in 1839 after his second visit to Palestine were, however, frustrated by an event in the year 1840 that proved a turning point in the checkered fortunes of his people. It was the so-called Damascus Affair which brought him and the English Jews into the foreground and led to developments of a far-reaching character.

The interests of Sir Moses had assumed a wider outlook than was afforded to him by the affairs of the local Anglo-Jewish community or by the efforts to effect a total removal of Jewish disabilities in England. What gives to his life its pre-eminence in the period of Jewish history that began with the third decade of the nineteenth century, is his active and dominant influence on the course of Jewish international events. His own personally favored position as well as his official standing as the president of the London Committee of Deputies of the British Jews gave him a wide scope for his life-work, which has made his name immortal in the annals of his people.

The Jewish world, particularly in Western

Europe, was stirred in 1840 by rumors of excesses that had taken place against the Jews of Damascus on account of a charge that they had killed a monk in order to use his blood for Jewish ritual purposes. Of all the calumnies levelled against the Jews, the hoary accusation that they require human blood in the worship of the God of Israel is the most painful as it is the most horrible, but the wide spread of this fantastic idea among the masses in the East, as well as the countenance which the Church has lent to it by its recognition of a number of "martyrs" who are claimed to have suffered death at the hands of the Jews for religious purposes, has filled the charge with the utmost significance for the peace and honor of Jewry.

The ritual murder accusation at Damascus was occasioned by the disappearance of Father Thomas, the superior of a Capuchin convent, together with his servant. There was at first some rumor that Father Thomas, who was a practising physician among Christians, Moslems and Jews, had been seen in a quarrel with a Turk, who had threatened to do away with him; but, by a sudden move, the cry went forth that he had been killed by the Jews, and this led to an attack by his co-religionists on the Jewish quarter at Damascus. The situation became the more serious by the fact that the French consul, Ratti Menton, being hostile to

the Jews and desirous at the same time of furthering the influence of France in the East by the support of the Clericals, took up the matter with unscrupulous violence.

Damascus, as well as Syria generally, was then under the rule of Mehemet Ali, the Pasha of Egypt, who had revolted against the Sultan of Turkey, and in this unsettled state of affairs the position of Ratti Menton, as the representative of the then most influential European Power and of the protector of the Roman Catholics in the East, gave him exceptional opportunities in his dealings with the local authorities. He also found in the governor of Damascus, Sherif Pasha, a willing confederate.

On an allegation that, on the day of his disappearance, Father Thomas had entered, with his servant, a certain house, its occupant, a Jewish barber, was arrested, and, after torture, confessed to the charge against him. Following this forced confession, eight of the leading Jews of Damascus were arrested and subjected to the most violent and outrageous treatment. Two of the victims, Joseph Lañado, who was over 80 years of age, and David Harari, succumbed, while another, Moses Abulafia, turned Mohammedan, but, in spite of the most excruciating tortures, no confession of guilt could be wrung from any of these men. To strike terror into the hearts of the

Jews, the Governor then had 60 Jewish children taken from their parents and confined in a room without food, but this also did not produce the desired result. Meanwhile, further efforts by Ratti Menton led to the discovery of some bones in a drain near the house of David Harari; but, although these were afterwards found to be mutton bones, they served to inflame the passions that had been aroused. Matters were further complicated by the arrest of a number of other Jews, one of whom, Isaac Levi Picciotto, was an Austrian subject. The Austrian consul not only took the part of his national, but, being fully alive to the nefarious activity of his French colleague, adopted an attitude of determined opposition to the ritual murder agitation. Nor was the situation cleared up by a decision of Ratti Menton that the guilt of the arrested Jews had at last been proved, or by his consequent demand on the local Governor for their execution.

At the same time a ritual murder charge had been raised against the Jews in Rhodes, and the attacks on the Jews which took place there, as well as in Smyrna and Beyrout, led to a state of unrest which assumed a grave outlook in those parts.

It was at such a critical juncture that appeals for intervention reached the Jews in the West and that Sir Moses Montefiore took ener-

East Cliff Lodge, Seat of Lord Keith

(From an engraving by W. Cooke, dated 1805)

getic steps for the rescue of his sorely threatened co-religionists. It was at his house that a gathering of leading London Jews, which was also attended by Adolphe Crémieux, the representative of the French Jews, was convened in order to consider what action might be taken. The deputation which thereupon waited on Lord Palmerston, the British Foreign Secretary, received a most sympathetic promise of support from the English Government. The subject had developed into one of international importance, for not only England but also the Governments of France and Austria had become actively interested in the course of events. Crémieux, who was received by Louis Philippe, was indeed promised the assistance of the French authorities, if required, but both by the demeanor of his Majesty as well as by the action of M. Thiers, who was then at the head of the French Government, it soon became evident that, in the words of Crémieux, France was against the Jews. As a contrast, the action of Austria, through Prince Metternich, was of a most benevolent and decisive nature.

The increasing agitation ultimately led Mehemet Ali to arrange for a judicial commission of European Consuls to investigate the charge against the Jews of Damascus, but on the definite opposition of Thiers, this proposal was dropped. Failing to obtain satisfaction, the

London Jews, backed by Jewish communities abroad, decided on June 15, 1840, that a mission, to be headed by Sir Moses Montefiore, should proceed to the East to intercede for the unhappy Jews.[21] The English Jews certainly had the whole-hearted sympathy of their Christian fellow-citizens. In the House of Commons, Sir Robert Peel proposed an inquiry into the matter, to which Lord Palmerston replied that he had already given definite instructions to this effect to the British representative in Alexandria. In order to afford a lead to public opinion, a meeting was called at the Mansion House by the Lord Mayor of London, Sir Chapman Marshall, on July 3rd, when Daniel O'Connell was among the speakers and Thomas Campbell, the poet, in the audience. A resolution expressing the sympathy of true Christians with the Jews of Damascus and Rhodes, abhorrence of the use of torture and disbelief

[21] A collection to defray the expenses of the mission to Damascus brought in a sum of £6,674, of which the Bevis Marks Synagogue gave £500 from its Fund of Cautivos (for the release of captives, better known under the Hebrew term of Pidyon Shebuim). This Fund of Cautivos continued in existence until 1882, when it was dissolved in view of the cessation of the purpose for which it was intended. Although the collection did not meet all the expenses incurred, Sir Moses Montefiore insisted on contributing a third, £2,200, which made it necessary to return to the other subscribers a fifth of their donations.

in the confession as well as in the charge itself, was conveyed to the British Government and to the foreign ambassadors. On July 7th, Sir Moses Montefiore set out on his historic mission, accompanied by Lady Montefiore, Crémieux, Salomon Munk, Dr. Louis Loewe, Dr. Madden, a well-known Oriental scholar and traveller, and Alderman Wire, afterwards Lord Mayor of London. Before he left, Sir Moses had an audience of Queen Victoria, and the British Foreign Office gave him letters of recommendation to its agents in the East. Sir Moses was thus not only the accredited representative of the English Jews, but was also supported by the British Government and by public opinion in England generally; while the members of the mission, which had thus started on its momentous journey under the happiest auspices, possessed the highest qualifications for their task. Adolphe Crémieux (1796–1880), an eminent lawyer, and in this case the official spokesman of the French Jews, had already exhibited those great qualities which were later on to raise him to the highest political position in France, as Minister of Justice in 1848 and as a member of the famous Government of National Defence which ruled that country in the fateful days of the Franco-Prussian War in 1871. His efforts on behalf of his people were manifested by his acceptance in 1863 of the office of president

of the international Alliance Israélite Universelle, and by his devoted services in this capacity to the end of his life. The other French representative, Salomon Munk (1803–67), was a worthy colleague of Dr. Loewe and well fitted by his profound knowledge of the East to share in the great enterprise. He was engaged at the time at the Bibliothèque Nationale, and on his return from Damascus, was appointed secretary of the Central Consistory of the Jews in France. He established his scientific reputation by his monumental edition of the Arabic original of Moses Maimonides' "Guide of the Perplexed", and had later on the distinction of filling the chair of Hebrew at the Collège de France, when it was vacated by Ernest Renan.

In Alexandria, Sir Moses obtained an audience of the Khedive Mehemet Ali, and asked for permission to proceed to Damascus in order to establish on the spot the innocence of the accused. Influenced by the French Consul-General, Mehemet Ali refused to grant the request, but, having obtained the support of all the other consuls, Sir Moses induced them to demand on their own behalf the liberation of the accused. Mehemet Ali bowed to this general request, and agreed to the release of the imprisoned Jews. It was, however, pointed out by Dr. Loewe, that according to the word-

ing of the Firman, Mehemet Ali had granted a "pardon" to the implicated Jews, and the proper refusal to accept such an equivocal expression was rewarded by a satisfactory change in the terms of the release as "an honourable liberation".[22]

Events in the Near East were at that moment in a very unsettled state. Mehemet Ali was involved in political complications which lost him Syria, and, under these circumstances, it was impossible for the mission to proceed to Damascus, as was originally intended, but a copy of the Firman was sent to Damascus and led to the release of the accused Jews. The political turn of events made it, however, advisable to obtain also the goodwill of the new master of Syria, the Sultan of Turkey, and Sir Moses with his party thereupon proceeded to Constantinople, where they arrived on October 5th.

On October 28th, Sir Moses Montefiore was received by the Sultan Abdul Medjid. Sir Moses proceeded to the palace at the head of a deputation as if by a triumphal procession. To the rather elaborate speech made by him, the Sultan replied promising his protection to the Jewish nation. He also granted a Firman declaring the innocence of the Jews of

[22] Loewe, Diaries I, p. 252.

the imputation of ritual murder in the following terms:

"An ancient prejudice prevailed against the Jews. The ignorant believed that the Jews were accustomed to sacrifice a human being to make use of his blood at their Feast of Passover.

"In consequence of this opinion, the Jews of Damascus and Rhodes (who are subjects of our Empire) have been persecuted by other nations. The calumnies which have been uttered against the Jews, and the vexations to which they have been subjected, have at last reached our Imperial Throne.

"But a short time has elapsed since some Jews dwelling in the Island of Rhodes have been brought from thence to Constantinople, where they have been tried and judged according to the new regulations, and their innocence of the accusations made against them fully proved. That, therefore, which justice and equity required has been done on their behalf.

"Besides which the religious books of the Hebrews have been examined by learned men, well versed in their theological literature, the result of which examination is that it is found that the Jews are strongly prohibited, not only from using human blood, but even that of animals. It, therefore, follows that the charges made against them and their religion are nothing but pure calumny.

"For this reason, and for the love we bear to our subjects, we cannot permit the Jewish nation (whose innocence of the crime alleged against them is evident) to be vexed and tormented upon accusations which have not the least foundation in truth, but, in conformity to the Hatti-Sherif which has been proclaimed at Gulhani, the Jewish nation shall possess

the same advantages and enjoy the same privileges as are granted to the numerous other nations who submit to our authority.

"The Jewish nation shall be protected and defended.

"To accomplish this object, we have given the most positive orders that the Jewish nation, dwelling in all parts of our Empire, shall be perfectly protected, as well as all other subjects of the Sublime Porte, and that no person shall molest them in any manner whatever (except for a just cause), either in the free exercise of their religion, or in that which concerns their safety and tranquillity. In consequence, the present Firman, which is ornamented at the head with our "Hoomaioon" (sign manual), and emanates from our Imperial Chancellerie has been delivered to the Israelitish nation.

"Thus you, the above mentioned judge, when you know the contents of the Firman, will endeavor to act with great care in the manner therein prescribed. And in order that nothing may be done in opposition to this Firman, at any time hereafter, you will register it in the Archives of the Tribunal; you will afterwards deliver it to the Israelitish nation, and you will take great care to execute our orders and this our Sovereign will.

"Given at Constantinople, 12th Ramazan, 1256 (6th November, 1840)."

The original of this Firman Hatti-Sherif (addressed to the Chief Judge in Constantinople), on which the Sultan wrote with his own hand, "Let that be executed which is prescribed in this Firman", was placed in the Imperial Archives and, by the order of the Sultan, an official

copy of it was forwarded to the Haham B ash (Chief Rabbi) of Turkey.[23]

This concluded successfully the historic enterprise, which not only brought about the liberation of a number of Jews accused of the most revolting crime conceivable—murder for religious purposes—but the authoritative declaration of the ruler of Turkey on the utter baselessness of the charges that had provoked universal condemnation.

The Damascus affair was like an earthquake that shook Jewry to its foundation, but so much the greater was the relief felt at the happy result. The good news was received by the Jews everywhere with transports of joy. It was celebrated in endless declarations, in verse and in prose. It was proposed that another Megillah (scroll) should be written to commemorate the event and that there be established in the Jewish calendar a second Purim, on which the Jewish people should celebrate its renewed deliverance from destruction.

On his way home, Sir Moses was promised by Cardinal Riverola, the head of the Capuchins in Rome, that a tablet erected in the Capuchin Church in Damascus stating that there lay the bones of Father Thomas of Sardinia, who had been "assassinated" by the Jews on the 5th of February 1840, should be removed, but neither

[23] Ibid. I, pp. 278, 279.

the promise of the Cardinal nor the subsequent endeavors of Sir Moses seemed to have been able to effect this, and the offensive inscription was only destroyed when twenty years afterwards the church was burnt down in an anti-Christian riot.

Sir Moses likewise obtained an audience at the Tuileries of King Louis Philippe, to whom he handed a copy of the Sultan's Firman—a delicate condemnation of the unworthy attitude towards the Jews adopted by the King of civilized France. Queen Victoria of England, who at the critical moment had given effective assistance to the cause of right, not only graciously received a facsimile and translation of the Firman, which Sir Moses handed to her personally on being presented by Lord Palmerston at a Levee at St. James's Palace, but "being desirous of giving an especial mark of our royal favour" and "in commemoration of these his unceasing exertions on behalf of his injured and persecuted brethren in the East and the Jewish nation at large", granted him the exceptional distinction of having supporters to his Arms. As for Sir Moses, he received this mark of truly royal favor accorded to him for services rendered to his own people in the lofty spirit in which the distinction was bestowed upon him. "The supporters I wish for", he wrote in his Diary, "are to exalt our holy re-

ligion by displaying 'Jerusalem' in a more distinguished manner than I could otherwise have done."[24] Rarely had an honor been more

[24] The warrant granting the supporters was drawn up in the following terms:

"Victoria, by the grace of God, etc., etc.,

"Whereas it has been represented unto us that our trusty and well beloved Sir Moses Montefiore, of Grosvenor Gate, Park Lane, in the Parish of St. George, Hanover Square, in our county of Middlesex, and of East Cliff Lodge, Ramsgate, in our county of Kent, Knight, Fellow of the Royal Society, and later Sheriff of London and Middlesex, in consequence of information having been received from the East that a number of Jews have been imprisoned and tortured at Damascus and at Rhodes, and that many children had been imprisoned and almost deprived of food and several persons tortured till they died, under the plea that the Jews had assassinated a priest called Father Thomas at Damascus; he had in conformity to a voluntary offer made at a general meeting of the London Committee of Deputies of the British Jews and others, held on the 15th of June last, proceeded (accompanied by Lady Montefiore) to Alexandria with the view of proving the falsity of the accusation, and of advocating the cause of his unfortunate and persecuted brethren, that he arrived at Alexandria in the beginning of August and succeeded in obtaining from the Pasha of Egypt, Mahommed Ali, the release with honour of the persons accused who had been confined, and permission for those who had fled to return to their homes, and he then proceeded to where he had an audience with the Sultan, Abdoul Medjid, and obtained from his Imperial Majesty a Firman proclaiming the innocence of the Jews, and securing to all persons professing the Jewish religion under

generously bestowed and still more rarely had it been better applied.

While the Jews of France were very restrained in their enthusiasm in order not to give offence to the King, the Jews of England acclaimed Sir Moses Montefiore with the utmost enthusiasm. He was personally fêted, and services were held in the synagogues to offer up thanks to God for the success of his mission. He received from all over Europe and many quarters elsewhere innumerable expressions of admiration and gratitude, and these tokens of the feelings of his co-religionists received permanent form at the hands of the Jews of England by the offering of an elaborately executed testimonial, in the shape of a silver centrepiece, which was

the Turkish dominion, equal rights with their fellow subjects.

"We, taking the premises into our Royal consideration, and being desirous of giving a special mark of our Royal favour to the said Sir Moses Montefiore in commemoration of these his unceasing exertions in behalf of his injured and persecuted brethren in the East and of the Jewish nation at large, have been graciously pleased to allow him to bear supporters, although the privilege of bearing supporters be limited to the Peers of our Realm, the Knights of our Orders and the Proxies of Princes of our Blood at installations, except in such cases wherein, under particular circumstances, we have been pleased to grant on a licence for the use thereof, etc., etc., etc.

"Given at our Court at St. James's, the 24th of June in the fifth year of our reign."

presented to him and Lady Montefiore by Hananel de Castro, one of the leading public men of the Anglo-Jewish community of that time.[25]

[25] This testimonial and other presentations to Sir Moses Montefiore are now exhibited in the Library Hall of the Lady Judith Montefiore College, Ramsgate.

VII

HIS FIRST EFFORTS IN RUSSIA

Sir Moses Montefiore was able to lay the haunting spectre of the ritual murder accusation, but there arose soon afterwards, in one of its periodically acute forms, that great Jewish tragedy in Russia which has continued remorselessly almost to this day. In sheer cyclopean brutality, the decrees against the Russian Jews, involving many hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of souls stood unexampled in the history of modern Europe. The enactments by which Tsar Nicholas I (1825–1855) sought to reduce the numbers and the resistance of the Jews in his Empire were marked, on the one hand, by the most violent legislative and administrative orders and, on the other, by de-Judaizing measures of a subtle kind. The military conscription of Jews (beginning in 1827) for a period of twenty-five years, the legalized outrages of the "recruit-catchers", the forcible abduction and transportation of Jewish children (as so-called "cantonists") for service in the army, were widespread and systematic acts of heart-rending horror only equalled by the demoralization which such enactments and incidents were bound to effect among their victims. In a

similar spirit, but impelled from a different direction, was the attempt to educate the Jews out of their national characteristics and thus win them over to Christianity.

The influence of Moses Montefiore, whose fame had also spread among the Jews of Russia, was in 1842 likewise appealed to on their behalf. An edict had gone forth that, on account of alleged smuggling practices, all Russian Jews were to be removed from the whole thickly populated frontier-zone of 50 versts (about 35 miles) bordering on Germany and Austria. This order not only affected nearly a hundred thousand persons, but in its Pharaonic barbarity would have ruined innumerable Jewish communities. In October 1842, Sir Moses received a deputation from the Jewish community of Riga, one of the most cultured in the Empire, entreating him to intervene with the Tsar in favor of the proscribed Jews "in this decisive moment in Israel's life and history", and this was followed by numerous representations from other parts of Russia and elsewhere.

At the same time Sir Moses Montefiore received a letter from Dr. Max Lilienthal, then at Riga,[26]

[26] Max Lilienthal, born in Munich in 1815, came to Russia in 1839 as headmaster of the newly founded Jewish school in Riga. At the instance of the Russian Government, he made strenuous efforts to interest the Jews there in secular education, but, recognizing the difficulties

in which was expressed the desire of Count Ouvaroff, the Minister of Public Instruction, that Sir Moses should come to Russia in order to afford advice and exert his influence for the purpose of promoting the secular education of the Jews in that country, and which also conveyed an intimation of the Tsar's wish that Sir Moses be invited to St. Petersburg to meet a Council of Rabbis appointed to advise on the subject. The efforts of Dr. Lilienthal, a German Jew, who had been engaged by the Russian Government for the purpose of reforming the traditional system of education prevailing among the Jews, met with decided opposition among them, since they, not unnaturally, mistrusted the motives which had led the Russian authorities to interest themselves in their welfare. Although Count Ouvaroff personally seemed to have taken up his task in a spirit of goodwill and enlightenment, the general policy of the Russian Government was so obviously hostile to the Jews that it justified their suspicions.

Before the Ukase against the removal of the Russian Jews from the frontier zone was carried into effect, the Emperor of Russia paid a visit to England. Sir Moses Montefiore, who had

he encountered, he left for America in 1844, where he became the rabbi of various synagogues in New York and Cincinnati. He died in the latter city in 1882.

been in frequent consultation on the subject with the Russian Ambassador, Baron Brunnow, made all possible efforts to be received by the Tsar, but in this he failed. An address of "welcome and thanks" by the Board of Deputies, however, was forwarded to the Tsar, since a suspension of the decree out of consideration for Russian fiscal interests, had temporarily relieved the situation.

In November 1844, a special delegate came from Poland urging Sir Moses to proceed to Russia and to appeal to the Emperor himself on behalf of the Jews; and, as the time for putting the edict into effect drew nearer, there was an ever-growing call for his personal intervention. On the 1st of March 1846, acting on a formal invitation of the Board of Deputies, which gave his mission an official character, Sir Moses together with Lady Montefiore, and accompanied by Dr. Loewe and a numerous suite, undertook the journey to Russia. They proceeded *viâ* Berlin, and passed Mitau and Riga on their way to St. Petersburg. In his desire not to compromise the success of his mission, he declined to receive deputations or to countenance the ovations that had been prepared for him by the Jewish communities *en route*. The journey by coach was, owing to the inclement Russian weather and bad roads, beset with many discomforts and, in

the crossing over the thawing ice of rivers, even with considerable danger. The party arrived in St. Petersburg on the 1st of April. Furnished with a letter of introduction from Sir Robert Peel and the Earl of Aberdeen, Sir Moses was cordially received by the British Ambassador, the Hon. T.A.D. Bloomfield, who arranged for an interview with the Russian Prime Minister, Count Nesselrode; Sir Moses also saw the Minister for Public Instruction, Count Ouvaroff, and both these Russian Ministers assured him that they were endeavoring to foster secular education among the Russian Jews, not for the purpose of their conversion to Christianity, but in order to make them more useful members of society. Even in regard to the decrees expelling the Jews from the frontier-zone, Count Ouvaroff maintained that these orders were very different in effect from the way in which they appeared on paper, obviously being of opinion that it would be for the ultimate good of the Jews if they were removed from the temptations to which the smuggling that prevailed along the Russian frontiers exposed the people who inhabited those parts.

On April 8th Sir Moses Montefiore was received by Tsar Nicholas I. Sir Moses attached the greatest importance to this audience, so much so that in the Judith Lady Montefiore College there are still preserved a pair of white

gloves which Sir Moses wore when he shook hands with the Autocrat of all the Russias. Sir Moses presented to him an Address, in which he endeavored to impress on the Tsar that the Jews were loyal subjects, industrious and honorable citizens, for whom, as such, he could confidently appeal to his Majesty's protection:

> "Praised be the God of our Fathers", runs an entry in Sir Moses' Diary. "At one o'clock this day I had the honour of an interview with his Imperial Majesty the Emperor. I made the strongest appeal in my power for the general alteration of all laws and edicts that pressed heavily on the Jews under his Majesty's sway..... His Imperial Majesty said that I should have the satisfaction of receiving his assurance, as well as that of his Ministers, that they were most desirous for the improvement of their situation in every way possible. His Majesty spoke for about twenty minutes. He said I should go and see them, and, referring to the army, that he had put Jews in his Guards. I expressed a hope that he would promote them if found as deserving as his other soldiers, to which he assented. I repeatedly said that the Jews were faithful, loyal subjects, industrious and honourable citizens. He said, 'S'ils vous ressemblent' ('If they are like you'). His Majesty heartily shook hands with me as I entered and on my retiring. It is a happiness to me to hear from every person, from the very highest to the lowest classes, that my visit to this country will raise the Jews in the estimation of the people, and that his Majesty's reception of me will be of the utmost importance."

In honor of the occasion of the Tsar's recep-

tion, the Palace guard for the day is said to have been composed of Jewish soldiers, of whom there was then a goodly number in St. Petersburg. As a remarkable indication of the friendly disposition generally evinced towards him may be mentioned the fact that on the Sabbath an officer from the Minister of War came to inform Sir Moses that the Emperor had been told of his wish to attend a service in the Soldiers' Synagogue and that he was instructed to escort him to it. Sir Moses walked several miles to the Soldiers' Synagogue at the barracks, where he found a congregation of three hundred worshippers, with whose devotion he was greatly impressed.

Sir Moses afterwards called on Count Kisseleff, the Minister in charge of Jewish affairs. Like Count Nesselrode and Count Ouvaroff, Count Kisseleff maintained that the Jews were great fanatics, and ascribed their faults to the Talmud. In regard to the expulsion of the Jews from the frontier-zone, Count Kisseleff seems to have been very unsympathetic. He apparently was quite willing for the Jews to leave the country, and suggested to Sir Moses that he might take ten thousand or more of them to Palestine or elsewhere. But he assured Sir Moses that he would personally always be pleased to see him. The remonstrance that Sir Moses and Dr. Loewe addressed to the Russian dignitaries appears nevertheless to

have created a certain favorable impression on them, and in their subsequent interviews they took up a manifestly friendlier attitude towards the hapless Jews who were under their authority.

The reception generally accorded to him by the Russian authorities in St. Petersburg was altogether most gratifying. He was treated as the representative of the Jewish people, and marked courtesy was shown to him as such in every respect.

Acting on the suggestion of the Tsar, and with the deferential assistance of the Russian officials, who provided all manner of facilities, Sir Moses set out on April 21st on a visit to various Jewish communities in Russia and Poland that were situated on his homeward way, in order to come into personal touch with the leaders of Russian Jewry. In Vilna, Kovno and Warsaw, most important Jewish centres, where he was received with marks of flattering personal attention by the Russian authorities and with overwhelming manifestations of pride and affection on the part of his brethren-in-faith, he entered, with the local Jewish leaders and Russian Governors, into a close examination of the Russo-Jewish problem.

Of course, he himself was convinced that the Jews could gain the goodwill of their rulers and neighbors by adopting the speech and customs

of their surroundings, and that this would lead to an eventual emancipation. In this he was not revolutionary by any means, but his unaffected feelings of admiration for Jewish faith and constancy placed him in a position apart from those who saw the ultimate salvation of Israel only in the extinction of their individuality. On the other hand, the Jews were only too eager to adopt the advice he gave them to engage in agriculture and handicraft, from which they had, as a matter of fact, been excluded by hostile "law and order", though we may surmise that his efforts to introduce among the Russian Jews secular education and the "German" attire was received, by the Hassidim in particular, with great respect but with no enthusiasm. The Jews, harassed and threatened at every turn of their lives, clung the more tenaciously to their deeply rooted ideas and habits, which, indeed, were no more harmful to the State than the ideas and habits of their Russian, Polish and Lithuanian neighbors. The objections to the peculiarities of the Jews were based on quite different grounds. Sir Moses Montefiore readily availed himself of the opportunities which his personal relations with Russian Ministers of State now afforded him, to place before them his views and suggestions regarding an improvement in the intellectual and economic status of the Jews in

the Empire. In valuable memoranda addressed to Count Kisseleff and Count Ouvaroff (included in the "Diaries" published by Dr. Loewe, who had taken an important part in the mission to Russia) Sir Moses set out his representations for the consideration of Nicholas I and his advisers on Jewish matters. These documents, which Sir Moses treated as private and confidential, and which he, therefore, kept unpublished during the Tsar's life-time, detailed in moderate term the grievous hardships to which the Jews were subjected by the Russian Government, and submitted in concise form recommendations for the removal of the disabilities and oppressive measures in question. He was obviously conscious of the disparity between his appeal on purely moral grounds and the mighty engine of oppression which ground his Russian fellow-Jews to the dust, but he, apparently, felt encouraged by his reception in exalted quarters and by the reflection that he had a just cause and the public opinion of the civilized world behind him. It was, therefore, not without dignity that in a Memorandum to Count Kisseleff he stated:

> "Humble as is my position in life, when compared with the most exalted stations of the high persons to whom I venture to address myself, I nevertheless have laid upon me by the high benevolence itself which I have experienced, a heavy responsibility

to Almighty God, to his Majesty the Emperor and his Government, to my brethren, and, I believe, to the whole civilized world."

It is a remarkable fact that, in the forties of the last century, when the whole of Russia was groaning under the yoke of one of the most despotic of its Autocrats, Sir Moses did not hesitate to ask for the Jews unreservedly "equal rights with all other subjects of the Empire".

"I venture to hold my own views on this subject with confidence and decision," Sir Moses states in the Memorandum to Count Kisseleff, "only because I know most intimately the feelings of my brethren. I have observed them closely in different parts of the world; have watched over them through a long life with very anxious attention; and could now, if it would benefit them, lay down that life for what I know to be their true character.

"Their natural disposition as a body, your Excellency, is not what it may have appeared to be. Expelled long ago with fearful slaughter from their ancient country, and dispersed in every land under heaven, the oppression of ages may have given them, in the eyes of his Majesty's Government, the semblance of a character which is not their own. That which they may appear to have may be artificial and superficial, forced upon them by long existing, most extraordinary, and peculiar circumstances. For these evils his Majesty the Emperor holds the full and most efficacious remedy in his own most gracious heart and most powerful hands, under the blessing of Almighty God, which would surely rest

upon him in the prosecution of such an unspeakably benign object."

Sir Moses was able to appeal for corroborations of his claims on behalf of his Russian co-religionists to the record of their relations to constituted authority:

"With respect to the real disposition of my brethren, I feel it right to mention that from communications which I held with the Russian authorities during my permitted visit to the Israelites in his Majesty's dominions, I have reason to think that my co-religionists have been generally exempt from the commission of capital crimes, and that even in regard to ordinary morality and the greater proportion of minor offences, their conduct is of a very exemplary kind. I sincerely hope that this statement will accord with the reports in the possession of his Majesty's Government. I feel confident that his Majesty's Government will reflect upon another pleasing fact of which I was also informed, that the Israelites have never been connected with the formation of any plot or scheme against those in authority, but, on the contrary, have endeavoured on all occasions to serve their country with earnest zeal, and with most unanimous sacrifices of life and property. As an instance, I shall only mention their exertions in favour of the Empire which they have the happiness to inhabit, during the presence of the French in Russia, in the year 1812, and more particularly in the revolt of the year 1830. On the latter occasion the Israelites were highly gratified by a proclamation, which their magnanimous Monarch caused to be issued in his name, by the Adjutant General, Prince Nicholas Andreievitch Dolgorukov,

> in which his Majesty condescended to express his great satisfaction with my brethren, and, moreover, renewed his assurance to them that they should find in Russia, under the glorious sceptre of their exalted Monarch, a fatherland and security of their property and privileges."

Sir Moses Montefiore must have been somewhat embarrassed in addressing the Minister of Education. This functionary, whose Russian official title was Minister of Public Enlightenment, had under the old Russian régime as his main duty to regulate "enlightenment" among the subjects of the Tsar in such a way as to stifle it at birth if it showed any signs of life independent of the bureaucracy, and this policy was particularly pronounced in the case of the Jews. The complaints of the Russian authorities that the Jews refused to avail themselves of the opportunities for secular education which a paternal Government was anxious to place at their disposal, and their claim that these Russian tchinovniki were anxious to inculcate in the benighted Jews the principles of "pure religion", could not have appeared to Sir Moses otherwise than a bitter mockery, but taking the Russians at their word, he tenaciously, almost pathetically, clung to the conviction that they might nevertheless be moved from their preconceived views by persuasion and proved facts. The report he addressed to Count Ouvaroff, the Minister of Education, was, therefore, a defence

of the ethical and spiritual principles of Judaism and an appeal for the intellectual improvement of the Jews under the auspices of the Russian Government.

"It must be to your Excellency a source of the highest gratification to hear," he states, "that his Imperial Majesty's Hebrew subjects are far from depreciating the advantages which the human mind in general derives from education. Wherever and whenever I had an opportunity of addressing them on that subject, they assured me that they were ever ready most zealously to assist in the promotion of their mental and social improvement, and they joyfully hailed every opportunity presented to them of enriching their minds by pure and wholesome knowledge. 'An Israelite,' they said, 'cannot underrate the value of knowledge.' Every page in our history proves the reverse. Our ancestors, from the earliest period of that history, have been remarkable for their zeal to uphold science and literature as the greatest and holiest acquisitions. And, in corroboration of this statement, I beg to inform your Excellency that many of the Israelites in his Imperial Majesty's dominions have distinguished themselves by their writings in Hebrew theology and literature, and that their works are very highly appreciated by the learned in Germany. To improve the mind and promote every kind of useful and sound information which tends to elevate a man before God and his fellow-creatures, they deem to be an important injunction of the sacred law. I therefore had no difficulty whatever in persuading them of the good intentions which his Majesty's Government entertained with respect to the organization of schools for their benefit. They overwhelmed

me with quotations from the sacred writings, tending to show that with the Israelite it is an imperative duty to give the best effect to such benevolence.

"Their notions of religion in general, and of the sacred books which treat thereon, are not less correct, and I had opportunities of hearing them frequently elucidate many scriptural texts, in a manner which proved to me that they were possessed with the true spirit of their religion, and that they derive from the perusal of the Oral Law such beneficial instruction as must tend to make them faithful to their God, loyal to the Government of the country in which they live, and good men to all their fellow-creatures.

"Their arguments on this subject, and the excellent quotations which they advanced in support of them, appeared to me to be of so much importance that I cannot forbear submitting them to your Excellency's kind consideration, bearing particularly in mind that the adherents to the Oral Law, as the sacred and only authorized commentary to the Holy Scripture, have been represented to your Excellency in a light certainly not calculated to throw much lustre on Israel at large.

"With respect to the inclination of the Israelites to frequent public schools, I found that a considerable number of the Jewish youth do attend these institutions and many more would do so were it not that a most difficult question arises to their parents, who say, 'We thoroughly appreciate the great advantages derivable from additional acquirements, but what is to become of our children after their minds shall have been so instructed in the higher branches of knowledge and their sensibilities thereby necessarily refined? or how are we to provide them with proper habiliments and books required for the purpose if we

can hardly afford to satisfy them with bread? Very many Israelites are also very much afraid that the whole mode of instruction at some public schools, and at some established for the Israelites exclusively, may induce their children to abjure the Jewish faith which of course is dear to Israelites, and which they are ready to defend with their lives. For there are schools where persons who are apostates from the Hebrew religion are allowed to instruct the pupils, a course of tuition which must give rise to the most painful anxiety in the minds of those by whom that religion is still cherished.

"I beg leave now to state, with the most profound respect for your Excellency's judgment on this important subject, that I have given it most serious consideration, and knowing from ample evidence that my brethren in the Russian Empire are most anxious to advance their mental and social improvement, I humbly submit to your Excellency that they are in a fit condition for receiving the benefits which their most benevolent and merciful monarch intended to bestow upon them..... Your Excellency may indeed believe that I assert as my solemn conviction that when they shall fully enjoy those privileges and opportunities which their paternal and beneficent Sovereign has designed for them, the result will be surprising to those who have underrated their talents and inclinations, and most gratifying to all who, like your Excellency, have evinced a sincere desire to promote their welfare, equally with that of the other numerous people over whom his Imperial Majesty reigns."

The acknowledgments of these Memoranda by the Ministers concerned manifest an understanding of the motives which had impelled

Sir Moses' warm-hearted appeals on behalf of his Russian co-religionists. Count Kisseleff wrote:

"Both documents have been placed before the Emperor, and his Imperial Majesty, appreciating the feelings of humanity which have dictated them, has been pleased to express once more the interest which he takes in his Israelite subjects, whose welfare and moral advancement will not cease to be the object of his constant solicitude.

Your two memorials will be brought to the knowledge of the Committee, by order of the Emperor, and they will serve to direct its attention to various details. This proceeding will show you how much his Imperial Majesty has been pleased to do justice to the intentions which have dictated your labour, and to the spirit in which it has been conceived."

Count Ouvaroff's reply stated:

"Your observations on the state of our Israelite schools have greatly interested me, and I thank you for expressing a favourable opinion of them as they are only the first beginning of a new era in the education of your co-religionists in Russia. But we may be permitted to hope that the organisation of the funds specially intended for this purpose will smooth the way to the desired improvements.

"With regard to your solicitude about the religious education of the Israelites, you know my feeling with regard to this matter, and you were able to judge for yourself of the care we take to avoid in our school regulations all that could give offence to their observances or awaken their religious susceptibilities."

The mission of Sir Moses Montefiore to Russia had one definite success to its credit in so far

as the Ukase by which the Jews were to have been expelled from the Western frontier-zone of Russia was abrogated through his intervention. The general effect on the Russian Government and their subordinate authorities was of an even greater value to the Jews.[27] The commanding presence of Sir Moses Montefiore among his co-religionists was in itself of incalculable advantage to them, for, acting on instructions from St. Petersburg, the provincial functionaries took pains to receive his representations with becoming consideration. The special attention shown to him and to Lady Montefiore by the civil and military Governors of Vilna and by Prince Paskiewitch, the Viceroy of Poland,[28] were particularly gratifying to the Jews. The return journey to England through Posen, Berlin and Frankfort-on-the-Main resembled a royal progress amidst the public acclamations of the German Jews, and on the

[27] The Reports on the Russo-Jewish conditions and the representations for their improvement, which, after his return to England, Sir Moses Montefiore was able to forward to Count Kisseleff and Count Ouvaroff, and which were submitted to the Emperor, were not without their influence for good. Cf. Loewe, Diaries, I, p. 360 ff.

[28] The attitude of Prince Paskiewitch towards the Jews is characteristic. "God forbid!" he replied to a suggestion of Sir Moses Montefiore that Jews should be admitted to the public schools, "the Jews are already too clever for us. How would it be if they got good schooling?" Wolf, op. cit., p. 153.

Sir Moses Montefiore

(From a painting by S. Hart, R.A.)

Saturday following his arrival in England (June 16th) special prayers of thanksgiving were offered up in all the Synagogues in that country for his safe return from the perilous journey and for the happy results of the mission.

Queen Victoria, who had apparently followed the efforts of Sir Moses on behalf of his co-religionists with much sympathy, now conferred on him the hereditary dignity of a Baronet of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland,[29] and the following letter sent to him by Sir Robert Peel, the Prime Minister (who had throughout evinced a keen personal interest in the mission), set the seal of universal public approval on the services Moses Montefiore had rendered to his people:

> "I have the satisfaction of acquainting you that the Queen has been graciously pleased to confer on you the dignity of a Baronet. This mark of royal favour is bestowed upon you in consideration of your high character and eminent position in the ranks of a loyal and estimable class of her majesty's subjects agreeing with you in religious profession, and

[29] As he was without issue, the baronetcy became extinct on the death of Sir Moses Montefiore, but was revived by the Crown in 1886 in favor of Francis Abraham, grandson of Sir Moses' brother and partner Abraham. Sir Moses' nephew Joseph Sebag, the heir of his estate and heirlooms, assumed by Royal licence in 1885 the additional name of Montefiore, and was knighted in 1896.

in the hope that it may aid your truly benevolent efforts to improve the social condition of the Jews in other countries by temperate appeals to the justice and humanity of their rulers."[30]

[30] Loewe, Diaries, I. p. 388.

VIII

AN ECHO OF DAMASCUS

Sir Moses Montefiore continued his keen interest in the affairs of the Anglo-Jewish community, particularly in those of his own congregation at Bevis Marks. Not only as president of the Jewish Board of Deputies, but by his own personality he was the outstanding figure in the struggle for the removal of Jewish disabilities in England, and his public record was quoted in Parliament for this purpose with high approval by the Duke of Cambridge, as well as by Sir Robert Peel, who had recently vacated the office of Prime Minister.

The Jewish interests of Sir Moses had, however, grown beyond affairs which, however important in themselves, were of a local nature, and, after the failure of Lord John Russell's Bill for the removal of Jewish disabilities by its rejection in the House of Lords, Sir Moses left this matter to capable and influential colleagues. With all the greater zest he devoted himself to the appeals that came to him repeatedly from the East as the foremost champion of his people.

In 1847, the Jews of Deir-el-Kamar, near Beyrout, were accused of having abducted a

child for ritual purposes, and soon afterwards another charge of ritual murder was made against the Jews of Damascus. Whilst in the first case the affair collapsed owing to the intervention of the British Consul-General at Beyrout, the trouble in Damascus assumed serious proportion through the sinister influence of the French consular agent Baudin, who, in spite of the fact that the child was afterwards found at Baalbec, urged the Turkish Governor to institute a search among the Jews. The appeals that reached Sir Moses from Syria and the significant fact that, as in 1840, it was the representative of France who was responsible for inflaming and supporting the anti-Jewish agitation, made intervention with the French Government particularly advisable.

Sir Moses Montefiore obtained from Lord Palmerston, who took up a very sympathetic attitude in the matter, an official letter and introduction to the Marquess of Normanby, the British Ambassador in Paris, with a view to Sir Moses being received in audience by King Louis Philippe. Guizot, who was then Prime Minister of France, saw Sir Moses and expressed his entire disapproval of the French consular agent at Damascus; he promised to write a strong letter to that official and to speak to the King on the subject. Sir Moses subsequently had an audience of Louis Philippe,

who was most gracious in his assurances that the matter would receive the benevolent attention of the Government. A letter from Guizot to Sir Moses, dated August 23, 1847, stated:— "The Government of the King regards the imputation in question [ritual murder] as false and calumnious, and its agents are, in general, too enlightened to think of abetting it in any way. The Government would deeply regret their doing such a thing, and would not hesitate to censure them severely for it."[31]

The renewed outbreak of the ritual murder charge in Damascus led Sir Moses to realize that the tablet in the Church of the Capuchins in that city accusing the Jews of the murder of Father Thomas would continue to be a source of fanatical hatred of the Jews. Having received in 1840 the promised assistance of Cardinal Riverola, the chief of the Capuchins in Rome, for the removal of the malicious epitaph, and being now strengthened by the favorable pronouncement of the French Government on the subject, Sir Moses considered the opportunity propitious to undertake a journey to Damascus for the purpose of personal intervention on the spot. The exceptional distress in 1849 that appeared to have followed on an outbreak of cholera in Tiberias likewise

[31] Ibid., II, p. 7.

made his presence among the suffering Jewish population in Palestine desirable.

Once more Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore set out for the East. They left London on May 16th 1849, accompanied by the Rev. Emanuel Myers, the Minister of his Synagogue in Ramsgate, and Colonel Gawler, a former Governor of South Australia, who was taking a practical interest in the colonization of Palestine. On his arrival in Damascus on July 3, 1849, Sir Moses took the bold step of visiting the Church himself, where he had the inscription in Italian and Arabic (the text of which seemed to be in doubt) copied in the presence of two monks. This provoked the violent anger of the Catholic inhabitants. Having presumably achieved the immediate purpose of that visit, Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore left on July 7 for Jerusalem, visiting Safed, Tiberias and Hebron, where they distributed considerable sums for the relief of the needy. On their journey in Palestine they had to experience personally a remarkable incident which illustrated only too painfully the effect which the ghastly phantom of Jewish ritual murder had on the Christian population in those parts. Whilst they were staying at Nazareth, there arose in the midst of the night a commotion occasioned by a woman who had lost her child and believed that the Jews had killed it. The fact that the child was soon found

and that punishment was inflicted by the Governor on the disseminators of the falsehood must have proved of little comfort to Sir Moses.

The epitaph in the Capuchin Church in Damascus relating the death of Father Thomas continued to engage the attention of Sir Moses, and, for the purpose of invoking the aid of the French Goverment, Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore proceeded again to Paris in December 1849, supported by a further letter from Lord Palmerston to Lord Normanby. In Paris he was able to see General Lafitte, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and subsequently to be received in audience by Louis Napoleon, then President of the French Republic. Sir Moses records thus the interview he had at the Elysee with the future Emperor of the French:

> "He received me most graciously, said that Lord Normanby had apprised him of my wishes, and that he was glad to see me; asked me to be seated, and sat down himself. I requested his permission to read him my address. He listened to it with the utmost attention, and several times intimated his approval of the sentiments. When I had concluded he said, 'I will give immediate instructions, and write very strongly. I am very happy in having it in my power to serve the cause of truth'."

Sir Moses again met Napoleon III in 1855, on the occasion of his visit to Windsor Castle, where an Address was presented to him on behalf of the Commission of Lieutenancy, and

Sir Moses, who formed part of the deputation headed by the Lord Mayor of London, was presented to his Majesty, who remarked: "I remember having already had the pleasure of seeing you in Paris." Sir Moses was then on the point of proceeding on a further journey to Palestine, and he took the opportunity of his passage through Paris to hand, through the British Ambassador, a petition to the Emperor asking for an instruction to the French Consul at Damascus to assist in the removal of the anti-Jewish inscription in the Capuchin Church there—but with no apparent result.

But not all the powerful influences invoked by Sir Moses—among them King Frederick William IV of Prussia, whilst on a visit to London in 1842—nor his own untiring exertions seemed able to prevail against the fierce fanaticism that had set up the scandalous inscription in the Capuchin Church in Damascus. Indeed, with some obscure zealots in the Orient but with the head of the Catholic Church himself.

The spectre of the blood accusation that stalked in all its horror in the East made, in 1850, its appearance at Suram, in Georgia. A number of Jewish refugees who had escaped to Constantinople appealed to Sir Moses to come to their aid. It was the familiar story of the disappearance of a child and the senseless and malicious invention of a ritual murder

charge against the Jews. Sir Moses wrote to Prince Woronzoff, the Governor-General, on behalf of the seriously threatened Jews, and, from extant notes, it would appear as if he actually contemplated proceeding personally to Tiflis, the capital of the province, but subsequent events, which cleared the Jews, and a letter of re-assurance from Prince Woronzoff, made this unnecessary.

IX

THE MORTARA CASE

In 1858, an incident occurred in the Jewish quarter of Bologna, Italy, which was to create a great stir and contribute in no small measure to the downfall of the temporal power of the Popes.

On June 24th, an officer of the papal police, accompanied by gendarmes, called at night on Momolo Mortara, a Jew of Bologna, and, in the name of the Holy Office, took away with them his boy Edgar, aged 7. He was brought up as a Christian because Anna Morisi, a former fourteen year-old servant-girl of the Mortaras, had confessed to a priest that about six years previously, when the child was dangerously ill, she had him secretly baptized to save his soul.

This forcible abduction of a child by papal authority created an intense alarm among the Italian Jews, and they turned, among others, to Sir Moses Montefiore, as president of the Board of Deputies, to take up the case. The Board of Deputies, which appointed a special Mortara Committee, with Sir Moses as chairman, co-operated with Jewish bodies on the European continent and in America, while

British public opinion, at that time not particularly friendly to papal pretensions, was deeply moved by this flagrant violation of an elementary human right. The Board of Deputies decided to memorialize Pope Pius IX on the subject and asked Sir Moses to proceed to Rome for the purpose of personally presenting the case to him. As usual, Sir Moses again turned for help to the British Government, and Lord Malmesbury, the Foreign Secretary, though doubtful as to the possibility of success, readily gave him the required letters of introduction to the British diplomatic representative in Rome. On March 3, 1859, Sir Moses left for Rome, accompanied by Lady Montefiore, although she was then in bad health.

In Rome, Sir Moses met with a discouraging reception. His efforts to obtain an audience of the Pope were indeed zealously supported on the part of Odo Russell (Lord Ampthill), the British Military Attaché in Florence, who represented his Government in Rome, and Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, who, as Ambassador at Constantinople, had already taken a keen interest in Sir Moses' humanitarian efforts, but both of them left him under no illusion as to the practical hopelessness of his endeavors to move the Papacy to a re-consideration of the case. Lord Stratford de Redcliffe wrote:

> "I return you herewith the Mortara memorial The case appears to be so clear that, according to our notions, you ought to find no difficulty in obtaining justice; but judging from what reaches me. in conversation, I fear it will require all your ability, energy and experience to open the smallest prospect of success."

Mr. Russell, who had been taking all possible steps to further Montefiore's object, had to conclude that the prospect before him was practically hopeless.

> "It is with deep regret," he wrote to Sir Moses, "that I have to inform you that all my exertions in the interest of your cause have failed. Cardinal Antonelli declined to enter upon the subject, saying, 'It was a closed question'.....I fear you were but too right in saying our only hope now rests with that great God whose holy laws have in this melancholy case been violated by the hand of man".

Sir Moses was greatly assisted by the Duke of Grammont, the French Ambassador in Rome, who, at the instance of Napoleon III, had intervened with the Holy See in favor of the Jewish demand, but, as an indication of Sir Moses' patriotic pride, may be mentioned his reply to a suggestion that he should first of all endeavor to enlist the good offices of the French Ambassador in approaching the Vatican: "I am so much of an Englishman that I prefer the English representation, and would only act in accordance with the advice of Mr. Russell".

It may, however, be added that, on his way back to England, he paid his respects to Count Walewski, the French Foreign Minister, for the support accorded to him by the French Ambassador in Rome.

Failing an audience of the Pope, Sir Moses finally succeeded in being introduced by Mr. Russell to Cardinal Antonelli, the Papal Secretary of State. On April 28, Sir Moses records:

> "His Eminence received us immediately. I told him the object of my coming to Rome, and of my disappointment at not being able to obtain an audience of the Pope to present to him the address of the Board of Deputies. Every endeavour I had made having failed, I had to request his Eminence to present it for me to the Sovereign Pontiff. I then gave him the address, and said, 'I would remain a week in Rome for an answer to it.' The Cardinal replied that 'it was impossible to do anything in the Mortara case, but that every precaution should be taken to prevent so unfortunate an occurrence for the future; that a child once baptised was a Christian, and as the Catholic Church considered that those of all others could not be saved, the child would not be given up until the age of seventeen or eighteen, when it would be free to follow its own inclinations. In the meantime the parents should have free access to the child, it should be well educated and taken care of, but the law of the Church prevented its being given back to the parents. He alluded to an order that Jews should not have Catholic servants, as any conscientious woman might, from pious motives, seeing a child dangerously ill

and apprehending its death, baptise it, she at the time believing that it could not be otherwise saved in the event of its death.' I said, 'As we were all the children of one God, it was deeply to be lamented that we could not dwell together in peace.' He again alluded to the laws of the Church.

"On my expressing a hope to receive a reply to the address from the Pope, he said: 'No reply had been given to similar memorials from Holland, Germany, and France.' He gave an assurance of goodwill towards the Israelites in the Papal States.

"The Cardinal was most courteous, made me sit by his side on the sofa, and very cordially shook me by the hand, both when Mr. Odo Russell introduced me to him and on my withdrawing after our interview."

During the Passover holydays, which Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore spent in Rome, they underwent the painful experiences of incited fanaticism at the hand of the local mob. It would appear that, for the first time in the history of the Roman community, premeditated efforts were made to foist upon the Jews Christian children by hiding them in synagogues, etc., so as to make out a charge of ritual murder. It was fortunate that these repeated attempts were frustrated in time to avoid almost inevitable catastrophes, but such dastardly outrages and the hopeless outlook of his mission left a depressing effect on him, which was further accentuated by the waning strength of Lady Montefiore, his always faithful companion.

> "This journey and mission," he recorded, "has been, on many accounts, a painful and sad trial of patience, and, I may truly add, of perseverance, but our God is in Heaven, and no doubt He has permitted that which will prove a disappointment to our friends, etc., and is a grief to us, for the best and wisest purposes. Blessed be His name!"

It was the Mortara case that was the immediate cause of the establishment of the Alliance Israélite Universelle, but the case had already gone beyond the interests of any particular body of Jews, and had, in fact, assumed an aspect of general European importance. Napoleon III and the Emperor Francis Joseph made private representations to Pius IX, but even these proved without avail. The Alliance Israélite addressed itself to Count Cavour, and received from him a communication (October 3, 1860) that the Government of King Victor Emanuel, recognizing the justice of the appeal, would do everything in its power for the return of the abducted child to its parents.[32] Among English Christians particularly, the immovable attitude of the Vatican aroused widespread indignation, and a protest was signed by over 2,000 persons of distinction. Sir Culling Eardley,[33] president of the Evangelical Alliance,

[32] N. Leven, Cinquante Ans d'Histoire I, p. 77.

[33] Sir Culling Eardley was a descendant of the eccentric Anglo-Jewish financier [Samson Gideon, a member of the Bevis Marks Synagogue, who lived in the eighteenth century.

was indefatigable in his efforts to arouse British public opinion on the matter, and, through his efforts, a private meeting of Jews and Christians was held at the Mansion House on December 21, 1860, to receive a deputation from the Alliance Israélite, who desired to lay the case before a British audience. The meeting was addressed on behalf of the Alliance by S. Carvalho, S. Cohen and Narcisse Leven, as well as by Mr. Hart, a member of the Board of Delegates of American Jews, Signor Fernandez, representing the Italian Jews, and Henry Isaacs, the Jewish Board of Deputies, in the absence, through illness, of Sir Moses Montefiore. It was then decided to take further steps to bring about the restoration of Edgar Mortara to his parents.

Not even Sir Moses was able to effect any change in the rigid "Non possumus" of Pio Nono, who, in this, as in matters of even greater importance, was prepared to brave the whole non-Catholic world. Edgar Mortara, who adopted the name of Pius, was brought up as a Catholic priest, but the Pope afterwards publicly admitted that he had saved this Jewish soul at great cost to the Papacy.

X

FURTHER ENDEAVORS IN THE HOLY LAND

During all the stirring events in which Sir Moses Montefiore was the principal protagonist, he was unremittingly engaged in the endeavor to create more favorable Jewish conditions in Palestine. Without the encouragement of popular applause or influential aid, nay, in spite of the discouragement afforded by Western scepticism and Eastern lethargy, Sir Moses and his truly noble consort did not swerve in their firm belief that, with a rational scheme of amelioration and the goodwill of the local authorities, the Jews in Palestine could be raised to a level that would be creditable to the Jewish people generally.

A remarkable development took place consequent on an appeal which reached him from the East in 1841 that the English Government should take the Jews in those parts under its protection. Both Lord Palmerston and his successor, Lord Aberdeen, received Sir Moses' suggestion to this effect with much sympathy. Lord Palmerston said that Sir Moses could write to the Jews in Turkey that if they had

any serious complaints to make, the English Consuls would attend to them or forward them to the British Ambassador in Constantinople, who would then take them up with the Ottoman Government. Lord Aberdeen likewise agreed to the adoption of a similar course, but, as to the proposal that the Jews in the East should be taken under British protection, he did not see how it could be done in view of the jealousies of the other European Powers. Sir Stratford Canning, the British Ambassador at Constantinople, while on a visit to England, also discussed this matter with Sir Moses, and promised to take care of Jewish interests in Turkey so far as his official competency would permit. In 1848, Sir Moses had the gratification to hear from Colonel Niven Moore, the British Consul-General at Beyrout, that the Tsar of Russia had conceded to all his subjects in Syria whose passports had expired the right of placing themselves under British protection, which, in fact, was tantamount to allowing them to become British subjects if they so chose. Colonel Moore further stated that the British Government had approved of the measure and that the Russian Jews in Syria could, therefore, become British subjects. In 1854, Sir Moses addressed himself to the Earl of Clarendon on the condition of the Ottoman Jews, and asked the British

Government to include them in its schemes for the benefit of the Turkish rayahs.[34]

When Sir Moses left Palestine in the year 1839 he had taken with him statistical data, on the basis of which he evolved elaborate plans for the economic development of Palestine. He had even been able to interest in his schemes Mehemet Ali, the ruler of that country, who saw in Sir Moses not only a large-hearted and pious philanthropist, but one in close touch with powerful financial and political circles in England. But the Damascus affair in 1840 and the changes in the lordship of Syria proved fatal breaks in the course which Sir Moses had mapped out for himself. He now had to deal with the local authorities as a foreigner who had to be placated but who was all the same disturbing their peace and might prove dangerous. Sir Moses had thus perforce to drop his ambitious schemes and confine himself to the pressing needs of the day.

The spirit which animated Sir Moses even in those times may be realized from the fact that Colonel Churchill, an English officer he had met in the East, proposed to him that the Jews of Europe should endeavor to re-establish a Jewish State in Palestine. Sir Moses appears to have sent a sympathetic reply, but he obviously

[34] Loewe, Diaries, I, p. 303; II, 13, 37.

felt that such a project was still premature. He contented himself for the time being with placing in Col. Churchill's hands a fund for granting loans to the poor, with the creation of various industrial undertakings and the establishment of a free dispensary in Jerusalem.

Nevertheless, Sir Moses continued to cultivate good relations with those in authority in the East. He was able to come into close personal contact with Mohammed Saïd Pasha, hereditary Prince of Egypt, on his visit to London in 1852. Sir Moses acted as a generous host on the occasion, and his sentiments were well marked in the following characteristic entry in his Diary when Saïd Pasha had left London:

> "His Highness expressed his high gratification for our attention to him during his stay in London, and insisted upon Judith's acceptance of a very beautiful and richly embroidered dress as a small souvenir. I hope and believe that not only his Highness but all his officers have been pleased with our desire to make them comfortable and I trust that, by God's blessing, his Highness will be a friend to our co-religionists in Egypt and the Holy Land when he becomes Viceroy of Egypt."[35]

He subsequently received an appreciative letter from the Pasha, offering his services in the East to Sir Moses Montefiore and when, in 1855 and 1857, the Montefiores returned through

[35] Ibid., II, 28.

Alexandria from a visit to Palestine, Saïd, who was then the reigning Khedive, entertained them with princely honors.

The high respect entertained by the successor of the Pharaohs for the latter-day Moses was strikingly manifested when, in 1857, the Khedive entrusted Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore with the care of his son Toussoon Pasha. The Prince seemed to have been, however, a source of considerable trouble and anxiety to his conscientious guardians. Toussoon Pasha, who was presented by Sir Moses to the Queen, was subsequently on several occasions the guest of the Montefiores in London.

A pleasing opportunity for further active interest in the development of Palestinian institutions was afforded to Sir Moses Montefiore in 1854–5 by the establishment of the North American Relief Society for the indigent Jews of Jerusalem, which henceforth transmitted its annual collections through him, and by a legacy bequeathed by Judah Touro of New Orleans (1775–1854), who had left a sum of $50,000 for the benefit of poor Jews in Palestine to be applied at the discretion of Sir Moses conjointly with the Executors. This remarkable American philanthropist, whose last resting place is in the old Jewish cemetery at Newport, Rhode Island, immortalized by Longfellow, must have felt an affinity of sympathies with his eminent

English co-religionist, to whom he was quite unknown. Gershom Kursheedt, one of the executors of Judah Touro, who came to England in order to confer with Sir Moses upon the disposal of the Trust, agreed to his suggestion of the establishment of a hospital in Jerusalem, which was then undoubtedly the most urgent requirement among a population suffering from the effects of insanitary surroundings as well as of extreme poverty. Sir Moses called on Lord Clarendon with a view to obtaining from the Sultan a Firman giving power to purchase land in Palestine for agricultural purposes, etc., as well as for the erection of a hospital in Jerusalem. Sir Moses was then told that a hospital—the still existing Rothschild Hospital—had only a month ago been opened in Jerusalem and that Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, the British Ambassador at the Sublime Porte, met with great difficulties regarding the purchase of land in Palestine.

Meanwhile, Sir Moses Montefiore had been the recipient of a communication praying for immediate aid to relieve the acute distress prevailing in Palestine owing to the outbreak of the Crimean War and the consequent stoppage of all remittances from Russia. An appeal issued for this purpose by him and the Chief Rabbi, Dr. Nathan Marcus Adler, brought in a sum of £19,887. This fund was administered

by a Committee in London, which took pains to consider measures for a more permanent alleviation of the chronic poverty by which the Jews in Palestine were afflicted. But Sir Moses realized that it was only by a further personal examination of local conditions that action could be taken effectively, and, with this object, he left London on May 13, 1855 on his fourth journey to the Holy Land, accompanied by Mr. and Mrs. Haim Guedalla, Dr. Loewe and Mr. Gershom Kursheedt. They proceeded *viâ* Cologne, Dresden and Prague, and in the last mentioned city, full of historic Jewish associations, they spent the Pentecost holydays; there, as well as in Vienna and Trieste through which they also passed, they were the objects of great ovations.

In Constantinople, Sir Moses was once again received by the Sultan, who expressed his satisfaction at being able to assist him, and granted him the required Firman for the purchase of land in Palestine and for the building of a hospital in Jerusalem. The Sultan also conferred on him the order of Medjidjeh of the second class.

The arrival of Moses Montefiore in Jerusalem on July 18, 1855 was attended with much pomp and circumstance. Dr. Loewe reports that

> "On nearing the spot from which the Holy City is first seen by the traveller, we dismounted as

usual for a short prayer, and were met by thousands of people who came to greet Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore. His Excellency, Kiamil Pasha, the governor of Jerusalem, sent an escort of horsemen. The Haham Bashi, at the head of the members of his ecclesiastical court, the representatives of the congregations, deputations from schools, and the most influential citizens, came to meet the travellers and welcome them to the Holy City. A guard of honour was drawn up by order of the Pasha, and the people generally evinced their pleasure by continually firing off guns and pistols as a sort of *feu de joie*. Tents were then pitched outside the city, at the corner of the Maidan, nearest the walls. Information having already been given to the authorities in Jerusalem that Sir Moses would be the bearer of important official documents, many persons called to ascertain their nature. To the British Consul, to whom Sir Moses had special letters of introduction from the British Government, he showed the Firman he had obtained, by the intercession of Lord Napier, for the rebuilding of an ancient synagogue belonging to the German Hebrew congregation (called the Hurbah of R. Yehudah he-Hassid), and also a Vizierial letter, enjoining the governor of the Holy City to give him every assistance to enable him to carry out his benevolent intentions. Mr. James Finn, her Britannic Majesty's Consul, presented Sir Moses officially to the Pasha, who received him with great kindness. In the presence of the Council of the City Effendis the Firman was read out. The Pasha and the members of the Council remained standing whilst it was being read. Many complimentary speeches then followed.....They received an invitation from the Pasha to see all the

> places held in veneration by Moslem, Christian and Jew. The Patriarchs of the Greek, Armenian and Latin convents also invited them to visit their convents. Sir Moses, however, was not able to accept them all; he had but one object in view in coming to Jerusalem, which was to help the poor and destitute, and his attention was entirely directed to that, no time being at his disposal even for subjects which, on other occasions, would have greatly interested him."

It is, however, only too true that in a Report to the Committee of the Palestine Appeal Fund in London, it was significantly stated that

> "it was an aggravation of his sorrow to find that his presence had long been looked forward to as a panacea for all future suffering, many having supposed that Sir Moses would have had the power to relieve from every ill and to provide for every want."

Nevertheless on this visit to the Holy Land Sir Moses set in motion, by the distribution of the balance of the London Fund amounting to nearly £11,000, a number of projects which, if they did not all come to fruition, proved to be the seed of a new order of things. He created several agricultural settlements near Safed, Tiberias and Jaffa. Through his great influence, the rabbinical authorities in Jerusalem, who had set their faces against all secular education, gave their adhesion to the establishment in Jerusalem of a girls' school, where instruction in domestic subjects was made a

special feature. Finally, he succeeded—being the first British subject to do so—in purchasing a plot of land near Jerusalem, where the foundation stone of the proposed hospital in connection with the Judah Touro Bequest was laid by him and Lady Montefiore. At the same time he was instrumental in greatly improving the sanitary conditions of the Jewish quarter of Jerusalem by causing to be removed from there the public slaughter-house with its accumulation of garbage from time immemorial.

Sir Moses was further interested in more ambitious schemes, such as the building of a railway from Jaffa to Jerusalem, a project which, in conjunction with Sir Culling Eardley, he had submitted to Lord Palmerston and to Ali Pasha, the Turkish Grand Vizier, when he was on a visit to England. Of the greatest importance to him, however, was the good news that the Sultan had issued the Firman Hhatihumayoon, granting equal rights to all his subjects without distinction of nationality or creed. This was conveyed to Sir Moses in a letter, dated February 23, 1856, from Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, the British Ambassador in Constantinople, in the following characteristically cordial terms:

> "My dear Sir Moses,—Before this letter can reach your hands you will have learnt from the public prints what amount of success has finally

crowned our long-continued efforts in the cause of humanity and freedom of conscience. I take the liberty of sending you a copy of the Sultan's Firman, together with a French translation.

"I shall be disappointed if it does not afford you as much satisfaction as I have derived from it myself.

"Excuse the haste in which I write, and pray, believe me, with every good wish.—Your faithful, &c.,

"Stratford de Redcliffe."

In 1857 Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore undertook their fifth journey to the Holy Land. On their way, in Malta, they met Laurence Oliphant, who, by his scheme for the settlement of Jews in Gilead, was to play such an interesting part in the Jewish colonization of Palestine. Sir Moses had undertaken this journey for the special purpose of personally inspecting the progress of the projects he had set on foot in that country. It appeared that, owing to lack of funds or want of experience, the agricultural settlements had proved anything but a success, but he was by no means discouraged. In Jerusalem he erected a windmill that was specially contracted for in England, but, in response to representations, he dropped the idea of building the hospital in connection with the Judah Touro Bequest and contented himself instead with the establishment of almshouses. Even this latter plan was interrupted by the interference of the local Governor, who maintained that the site selected was in too close

proximity to the city fortifications, and it required all the influence of Sir Moses to obtain again from the Sublime Porte a confirmation of the concession, which was eventually carried into effect in 1860. The Judah Touro almshouses, pleasantly designated by the name of "Mishkenoth Shaananim" ("Dwellings of Delight") have proved a pioneer institution as model dwellings for the Jewish inhabitants of Jerusalem, but it was only by long and patient efforts, and not before the year 1875, that the undertaking was accomplished. "Blessed be the memory of Mr. Touro", wrote Sir Moses in his Diary, "nevertheless his legacy has cost me £5,000".[36]

It may be added that on the occasions both of his fourth and fifth visits to Palestine, he was the object of highly complimentary attentions on the part of the Moslem authorities in the

[36] Ibid., II, p. 270. Concerning his stay in Jerusalem in 1866, Sir Moses Montefiore recorded: "During the first and second days of the Passover, I visited the Touro Almshouses. I satisfied myself that the inmates were fully deserving of the advantage they were enjoying. These almshouses are situated in the most healthy part of the suburbs of the Holy City; scrupulous attention is paid to the preservation of order and cleanliness, and the inmates are cheerful and happy, devoting a portion of their time to religious observances and study, but nevertheless not neglecting the following of industrial pursuits." Ibid., II, 177.

Holy Land, which, for the sake of Jewish prestige, Sir Moses found most gratifying. To his own people in Palestine, his appearance among them heralded a restoration of the splendor of Israel in its own land, a vision of the fulfilment of their daily prayers.

XI.

PERSIA AND MOROCCO

By the year 1860 the fame of Sir Moses Montefiore as one of the great philanthropists of his time was firmly established. He was not merely a large-hearted member of the Anglo-Jewish community, but one eminent in English public life and an outstanding figure of international repute. The world at large had recognized in him those qualities of unselfish and heroic service and of genuine religious humility which appeal to the highest instincts of all mankind, and do not fail to evoke an echo of sympathy and admiration in every human heart.

Much of the distinction and the ungrudging acknowledgment of his endeavors must be ascribed to the generous interest and support of his Christian fellow-countrymen. The attitude of the Christian statesmen and other public men in England towards the Jewish efforts of this Hebrew, ennobled by Queen Victoria for his services to his own race, is certainly without example. It would not have been possible in any other State in Europe. Sir Moses Montefiore called on the Prime Ministers and Foreign Secretaries, the Ambassadors and Consuls of Great Britain, for the defence of foreign Jews

whose sole claim to consideration was their helpless condition, and, to the honor of England be it said, throughout he met not only with unqualified sympathy, but with active support, which, as often as not, went far beyond the obligations and privileges of diplomatic intervention. The British Government went to the length of placing foreign dispatches affecting Jews at his disposal. Still more remarkable is the fact that English public opinion raised its voice officially time after time in favor of Jews in foreign lands, in order to strengthen the hands of its representatives, and did not grow weary or impatient of the appeals which Sir Moses unhesitatingly and confidently made to it.

The solicitude of Sir Moses for suffering mankind generally and those in the East in particular was strikingly evinced when in 1860, on an outbreak of the Druses against the Christians of the Lebanon and the consequent massacre of many Christians in Syria, he took the initiative in the formation of the British Syrian Relief Committee. Hearing from a debate in the House of Lords of the terrible plight in which the unfortunate Christians in Syria were placed, he immediately came up specially from Ramsgate to London, and at one o'clock in the morning delivered personally to "The Times" newspaper a letter in the

following terms, urging the immediate relief of the destitute Christian fugitives:

"Sir—I have noticed with the deepest sympathy the statement made last evening in the House of Lords that, owing to the recent outbreak in Syria, there are twenty thousand of the Christian inhabitants, including women and children, wandering over its mountains exposed to the utmost peril. Being intimately acquainted with the nature of that country and the condition of its people, I appreciate, I am sorry to say, but too painfully the vast amount of misery that must have been endured, and which is still prevalent.

"I believe that private benevolence may do something towards the alleviation of the distress of the unhappy multitude now defenceless, homeless, and destitute.

"I well know, from experience, the philanthropy of my fellow-countrymen, and I venture to think that the public would gladly, and without delay, contribute to the raising of a fund to be applied as circumstances may require, and judicious management, for the relief of these unfortunate objects of persecution.

"I would suggest, therefore, that a small, active, and influential committee be at once formed, with the view of raising subscriptions and of placing themselves in communication with the British Consul-General at Beyrout, and the other British Consular authorities throughout Syria, so that assistance may be rendered by the remittance of money and the transmission of necessary supplies; and I take the liberty of enclosing my cheque for £200 towards the proposed fund.

"Your recent eloquent and judicious advocacy of the cause of the Syrian Christians has encouraged me to address you, and will, I trust, be a sufficient excuse for my so doing.—I have the honour to be, Sir, yours faithfully,

"Moses Montefiore".

"East Cliff Lodge, Ramsgate, July 11th."

It was a noble act, and it was as nobly and promptly taken up in France by M. Crémieux, who appealed to the French Jews to come to the rescue of the persecuted Christians in Syria, those very people who were partly the cause of the famous mission to Damascus in 1840. An appeal, supported by the English Chief Rabbi, was also issued to the leading Jews on the Continent. Of the British Syrian Relief Committee, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, the former Ambassador in Constantinople, became President, and Sir Moses Montefiore, chairman of the Executive Committee. Among the members of the Committee were Lord Palmerston, Lord John Russell, the Earl of Shaftesbury, the Marquess of Lansdowne, the Bishop of London, the Lord Mayor of London, etc. Sir Moses was a constant attendant at the meetings of the Committee until the year before his death.

Sir Moses was now well over the three score and ten years of his life, but the keenness of his mind and the energy of his body were

almost unabated. When duty called him he was still ready to offer himself for any purpose which would serve best the cause in question. And the multiplicity of the causes increased as his fame spread in the farthest corners of the Dispersion of Israel. We thus find him actively interested in the welfare of the Jews geographically so widely separated as Persia and Morocco, yet so similar in their tribulations. The Jews of Persia and Morocco not only suffered from lawlessness and misgovernment, but from the fanaticism of the populace which had grown with the intellectual and political decline of those Moslem States, and had made the life of the local Jews intolerable. It was only by a perennial abasement that the luckless Jews of those countries were able to survive.

Sir Moses Montefiore's active intervention in the conditions in Persia was brought about in 1860 by a communication from Hamadan which appealed to him to use his influence with the British Government on behalf of the local Jews. In 1865 he was again approached by the Jews of Hamadan, who begged him to intercede with the Shah in order to stay the persecution that had broken out against them. He was then 80 years of age, but he nevertheless proposed to go to Persia in order to plead personally for his co-religionists with the Sovereign of that country. It was only at the instance of Mr.

(afterwards Sir) Austen H. Layard, Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, that he was induced to address on the subject a communication to the Shah Nazer-eddin, which was forwarded to that ruler by Lord John Russell through the British Minister in Teheran. In the following year, he had the gratification of receiving from the Foreign Office an intimation that, in consequence of his petition to the Shah, his Majesty had sent an autograph letter to the Sipeh-salar (Prime Minister), who was informed of the Shah's desire that the Jews should no longer be persecuted but be treated with justice and kindness. The fair words or intentions of the Oriental monarch were, however, not of permanent effect, and Sir Moses had later on to take further steps to ensure tolerable conditions for his oppressed Persian co-religionists. The British Government, on its part, consistently exerted its influence in favor of the Jews and Nestorians in Persia, two historic minorities in that country who were both subjected to great hardships, and, not infrequently, to the violence of the mob, but even that powerful influence was of but little avail.

In 1871 the British Governor-General at Tabriz, Persia, appealed to Sir Moses for assistance for the starving Jewish population of Shiraz, and Sir Moses forwarded £100, of which he desired £50 to be given to the Jews and two

amounts of £25 to be distributed among the local Christians and Moslems. To relieve the famine that was then raging in Persia, Sir Moses, on behalf of the Board of Deputies, instituted a collection which brought in nearly £20,000, but the miserable condition to which the Persian Jews had been reduced by the exactions and oppression of the authorities necessitated, in 1872, a further petition to the Shah and, once again, now in the eighty-eighth year of his life, Sir Moses was most anxious to proceed to Persia. The following extract from his Diary under date February 22, 1872, would perhaps give the best indication of the almost importunate manner in which he clamored to proceed on a mission, that, in view of the enormous distance and turbulent state of Persia, would have deterred any other man:

> "I went to the Foreign Office, and found that Mr. Hammond had been confined to his house for the last two months with the gout. I drove to his residence, where he received me most kindly. I returned the despatches Lord Granville had kindly sent for my perusal, and then I spoke of my desire to go to Persia to endeavour to ameliorate the condition of the Jews. He said the journey was too difficult for me and would not permit it. Lord Granville would willingly afford me all the assistance I required. 'After the 1st of April,' Mr. Hammond continued, 'the Red Sea was closed, the season was already too far advanced, travelling in Persia was most difficult.' He was against my

JUDITH, LADY MONTEFIORE

(From a painting at East Cliff Lodge)

going at my time of life; he thought I must be eighty. I was obliged to own to being in my eighty-eighth year. He was indeed most kind and friendly. When I said I was going by way of Egypt, he said jestingly that the British Consul had great power, and he would put me in prison, and in Egypt there was no Magna Charta. I ought not to go. And what did my nephew, Mr. Joseph Mayer Montefiore, say to it? he asked. I replied that my nephew said it was evident I wished to be buried in Persia. It is impossible for any friend to have spoken more kindly than Mr. Hammond. He promised to send my letter to Lord Granville."

Lord Granville obviously offered to do all he could in the cause Sir Moses had at heart, but would not let him go to that country. If the venerable philanthropist still insisted, he was only definitely dissuaded from his perilous project by a mission he thereupon undertook to Russia instead.

Of greater importance and effect were the steps Sir Moses Montefiore took in connection with his co-religionists in Morocco. Whilst the Jews of Persia, far away in Central Asia, steeped in ignorance and dwindling in numbers, could necessarily be of but comparatively remote interest to the Jews of Western Europe, the Jews of Morocco were considerable in number (then over-estimated at 500,000 souls), and, especially in the coast towns, in close touch with England. In fact, many Jews from Morocco had found a new home in London, and some of

the nearest relatives of Sir Moses himself—the Sebags and the Guedallas—were of families that had originally come from that country. We, therefore, find him taking a foremost part in relieving the situation of the Moroccan Jews, as the need for it became pressing by some act of violence or general lawlessness. Already in 1844, he intervened by a letter to the Emperor of Morocco in favor of the Jews in Mogador and promoted the collection of a fund to alleviate the distress caused among them by the bombardment of that city. In 1859 Sir Moses, as President of the Board of Deputies, headed an appeal for the relief of the Jews of Morocco consequent on a war that had broken out between that country and Spain; and, of the balance of an amount of over £14, 000 collected, the Morocco Relief Committee then instituted continues to administer a fund of about £6,000 for the benefit of the Moroccan Jews. The impetus for the personal intervention of Sir Moses was given by an event which occurred in the year 1863 at Saffi, on the West coast of Morocco, and to which the Jews of Gibraltar and Tangier called his urgent attention.

It appeared that a Spaniard had died suddenly at Saffi, and, the circumstances being considered somewhat suspicious, the Spanish Vice-Consul, who had been his master, called on the Moorish authorities for an investigation.

In order to incur the least possible trouble, the Moors fixed the guilt on a Jewish boy of fourteen, who had been in the service of the Spaniard. The boy was accused of having poisoned his master, and, under torture, admitted that he had committed the crime and that eleven other Jews, whose names were put to him, were also implicated. When released from torture, the boy denied the charge, but he was nevertheless executed, together with one of the Jews who were alleged to have been his accomplices. The public execution of the lad at Saffi and of the man at Tangier, as well as the threatened fate of the other Jews who were charged with the crime, created great dismay among the Jews in Morocco, who had good reason to fear the worst.

On being informed of the circumstances, Sir Moses put himself into immediate touch with the Foreign Office, which extended most readily all the assistance it could render to the Jewish victims of persecution through Sir John Drummond Hay, the British Consul-General at Tangier. Acting in consultation with the Board of Deputies, and furnished with the necessary credentials and recommendations from the Foreign Office, Sir Moses left for Morocco, accompanied by Mr. Haim Guedalla, who took an increasing interest in his philanthropic endeavors, Mr. Sampson Samuel, the Solicitor

and Secretary of the Board of Deputies, and Sir Moses' medical attendant, Dr. Thomas Hodgkin, who subsequently published the "Narrative of a Journey to Morocco" in connection with this mission.

In order to afford an insight into the dauntless energy which animated this patriarch in his self-imposed task of bringing relief to his oppressed brethren in the outlying lands of barbarism, it may be well to give here at length the following parts of Sir Moses' Report to the president of the Board of Deputies:

> "You will recollect that we left Dover on Tuesday morning, the 17th ult. (November 17, 1863), and reached Madrid within six days of our departure from London. I mention this in order that the Board may understand that, to the best of our ability, we used every effort to proceed with all possibly celerity towards the hoped-for accomplishment of the objects of the Mission Considering that some important matters calculated to lead to a prosperous issue might receive attention at Madrid, I deemed it expedient with this view to make some stay in that city. I waited on his Excellency, Sir J. F. Crampton, our Ambassador at the Court of Madrid, on Thursday, the 26th ult., and experienced from him a most kind and friendly welcome. On the same day his Excellency introduced me to the Marquis of Miraflores, the Prime Minister of Spain, who gave me the encouraging assurance that I need be under no apprehension of any further steps being taken for the present against the unfortunate prisoners at Saffi, the proceedings against whom, he stated most emphatically, had not been influenced

by any prejudice or ill-will on account of their religious persuasion; and the Marquis consented to solicit her Majesty the Queen of Spain to grant me the honour of a private audience; he also, at my request, promised to give me a letter of introduction to Don Francisco Merry y Colon, the Spanish Minister at Tangier.

"On Monday, the 28th ult., in the afternoon, I had the honour (upon the introduction of his Excellency, Sir J. F. Crampton) to be presented to her Majesty and to the King Consort, at a private audience. I have reported to you, in a former letter, how gracious a reception was accorded to me, but I may add that I shall never cease to bear in mind the gratification I experienced on that interesting occasion. I was received by their Majesties with the utmost courtesy and kindness, and was joyfully impressed with the assurances of the King Consort of their respect for all religions.

"During my stay in Madrid, I had the advantage of introductions to his Grace the Duke of Tetuan, General Prim, several of the foreign Ambassadors and other distinguished persons, by several of whom I was favoured with letters of introduction for Tangier.

"Having, under the blessing of God, succeeded in effecting at Madrid the objects contemplated, I left that city with my companions very early the following morning (Tuesday, Dec. 1), *en route* for Seville, as I was desirous of handing to Don Antonio Merry (the Russian and Prussian Consul at Seville, and the father of the Spanish Minister at Tangier) a letter of introduction. We travelled by railway to Santa Cruz de Mudela. On Wednesday, the 2nd December, we left Santa Cruz, and proceeded by diligence to Andujar, at which place

we arrived the same evening. I was too exhausted to proceed further that night, although my fellow-travellers, Dr. Hodgkin and Mr. Guedalla, in their kind anxiety to secure for me a fitting resting-place at Cordova, continued their journey till midnight by the same diligence, so that they might make the necessary arrangements.

"We arrived at Seville on Sunday, the 6th inst. The following day I delivered to Don Antonio Merry the letter of introduction to him with which I had been favoured, and he very kindly gave me a letter to his son, Don Francisco Merry y Colon, the Spanish Minister at Tangier.

"On Tuesday, the 8th inst., we left Seville by railway, and reached Cadiz late the same night, where, after some delay, I ascertained that a French steam frigate, the Gorgone, under the command of Captain Cellier de Starnor, was lying off the port, and would proceed the same night direct to Tangier.

"I lost no time in transmitting a request to Captain Starnor to allow me and my companions to embark in his beautiful ship. This request was at once most politely acceded to, and we were gladdened at 5 a.m. the next morning, Friday, the 11th inst., with the tidings that we had anchored off Tangier. .....On Sunday, the 13th inst., I had the pleasure to wait on Sir John Hay Drummond Hay, K.C.B., the British Minister, and of conversing with him, and also Consul-General Reade, on the subject of the Mission. On the same day (accompanied by Mr. Samuel), I placed in the hands of Don Francisco Merry y Colon, the Spanish Minister, the letter given to me by his father, also the letter of introduction entrusted to me at Madrid by the Marquis of Miraflores, and several other letters which I had obtained at Madrid.

"I am happy to say that I was most courteously received by the Spanish Minister, who gave me his willing consent for the immediate release of the two men, Shalom Elcaim and Jacob Benharrosh, confined at Tangier; and he also promised to place in my hands a letter to the Moorish Government, intimating the desire of the Spanish Government that the proceedings against the two unfortuate prisoners at Saffi, Saida and Mouklouf, should be stopped. Within an hour of this interview with the Spanish Minister, we had the gratification of seeing the liberated prisoners, Shalom Elcaim and Jacob Benharrosh, at our residence.

"Although my interview with the Spanish Minister took place late on the afternoon of Sunday, yet, early in the forenoon of the following day (Monday, the 14th instant), I had the gratification to receive from him a note, expressing his satisfaction in complying with my request and containing the promised letter. Immediately on the receipt of the letter, I applied to Sir John H. D. Hay to introduce me, with Mr. Samuel, to Sid Mohammed Bargash, Minister for Foreign Affairs at Tangier. Sir John accompanied us to the Minister, to whom I presented the letter from the Spanish Minister, and who expressed his pleasure at its contents, and promised to forward it instantly by special courier to his Sovereign at Morocco. He stated, however, that he feared a month would elapse ere a reply could be received.

"A letter to the Sultan was also transmitted at the same time from the British Minister, representing the desire of our own Government to the same effect as that of Spain.

"With the view to obtain the earliest possible release of the prisoners, I requested that the order

for their liberation might be forwarded direct to Saffi.

"On the 16th instant we paid a visit of respect to the Rev. Mordecai Bengio, the Chief Rabbi, and also on the same day had the pleasure of being introduced by the British Minister, at their respective residences, to the Ministers of the several Powers at Tangier (France, Spain, United States, Italy, Portugal, &c), to several of whom I had letters .....I intimated in my telegram of the 15th instant that I contemplated a visit to the Sultan at Morocco. This will be with the object of thanking his Sheriffian Majesty for his gracious compliance with the request of the British and Spanish Governments, for his favourable disposition towards his Jewish subjects, and to entreat that his Sheriffian Majesty will extend to them his favour and protection, and direct the removal of the degrading grievances under which the Jews of the interior are still suffering. With objects so important, I shall not hesitate, before my return home, to encounter this long, fatiguing and hazardous journey."

As will have been observed, Sir Moses was received by Queen Isabella of Spain and her royal consort, both of whom extended the utmost courtesy and kindness to him. In Tangier he was also accorded the most ready assistance of Don Francisco Merry y Colon, the Spanish Minister, who willingly gave his official consent to the release of those Jews who were still imprisoned. Communications from the Spanish and British diplomatic representatives in favor of the Jews were forwarded to the Sultan, while

the Spanish Minister likewise issued an instruction to his consular subordinates that, by the direct wish of the Queen of Spain, they were to aid and protect the Jews and avail themselves of every opportunity to prevent the infliction on them of acts of cruelty on the part of the Moorish authorities.'

During his stay in Tangier, Sir Moses received a deputation of about fifty Moors, with their chiefs, from a distant part of their country, urging his intercession for the release of one of their tribe who had been imprisoned for two years and a half on the allegation of having murdered two Jews. As it was a case of mere suspicion and the incriminated man had not yet been told of the charge against him, Sir Moses considered that this was an instance where the benefit of the doubt could be applied, and he interceded in favor of the man with immediate effect. The Moorish chiefs gave Sir Moses their solemn pledge that they would be answerable for the safety of all Jews travelling by day in their part of the country.

Although the immediate object of his mission to Morocco had been attained, Sir Moses deemed it advisable to effect a permanent improvement in the condition of the Moroccan Jews, particularly in the interior of the country, by undertaking the long and trying journey to Morocco City to thank the Sultan for his com-

pliance with the request of the British and Spanish Ministers in favor of the Jews. By the courtesy of Lord Russell and the British Naval Authorities at Gibraltar and Malta, H. M. Ship "Magicienne" was sent from Malta to convey him from Gibraltar to Saffi, whence, not finding it safe to land, they went on to Mogador, where the Sultan's escort was awaiting him to convey his party across the Atlas Mountains through the desert to Morocco City—a distance of 110 miles. The journey was in every way remarkable, and its incidents are best illustrated in the words of Sir Moses in his Report on the mission addressed to the Board of Deputies from Morocco City on January 26, 1864:

> "Were I to attempt even an outline of each day's events, I should greatly exceed the limits of an official letter. Suffice it, therefore, to say, that we happily accomplished our journey from Mogador to this city in eight days, resting on the Sabbath. During this period we were subjected to a broiling sun by day, and to cold and occasionally heavy dews and high winds by night. Nevertheless we have borne our fatigues well. Fortunately we escaped rain; otherwise, apart from every other inconvenience, we might have been detained for days in staying to pass rivers; as it was, happily no such impediment arose. We were met at a short distance from Morocco (at which place we arrived yesterday at about 1 p. m.) by a guard of honour, and we were all located in a palace of the Sultan, in the midst of a garden; and I can assure you that

the change, after sleeping under canvas for so many nights, is most acceptable. The Jews here are not allowed to walk the streets except barefooted. It will be, indeed, a happy event for them, if I can induce the Sultan to do away with these degradingly distinctive marks, and also to place all his subjects, irrespective of faith, on an equal footing. Whether there is the remotest possibility of success in this, I am at present utterly unable to say. I am assured by everyone that the moral effect of my visit to Morocco will prove of advantage to my Moroccan co-religionists. The distance from Mogador to Morocco (city) is said to be about 110 miles; we have, therefore, travelled upon an average of sixteen miles a day. This may occasion a smile to those who are accustomed to railway speed; but it should be borne in mind that there are no roads in this Empire, that we had to encamp each day some hours before darkness to enable our camels, &c., to reach the resting place, and for the erection of our tents, &c., &c., and it was absolutely necessary that we should stop at the margin of some stream or river, an ample supply of water being indispensable. After our first day's journey, we kept the snow-clad Atlas Mountains constantly in view; our encampments and the surrounding scenery each day of our pilgrimage would have offered a series of charming scenes for an artist. You may judge of the importance of our numbers; our encampment consisted of from thirteen to fifteen camels, several baggage mules, about 100 camp followers, including soldiers, etc.; indeed, on Friday afternoon, after we had been met by the deputation from Morocco, Mr. Samuel counted about eighteen camels and sixty horses and mules, with a few donkeys in addition....On Wednesday, the 27th ultimo, I was visited by deputations from the

several learned Jewish bodies in the city of Morocco. I should estimate the number of my visitors to have amounted to between three and four hundred. I fear, from their appearance, that they are in very poor circumstances; yet one cannot but admire their devotion to the study of our Holy Law.

"On Sunday, the 31st ultimo, I received an official intimation that the Sultan would give our party a public reception on the following day.

"On Monday, the 1st instant, long before dawn, we could distinguish the sounds of martial music, indicating the muster of the troops in and about the environs of the Sultan's palace. At the early hour of 7 a.m., I had the honour to receive a visit from Sid Taib El Yamany, the good and intelligent Oozier, or Chief Minister of his Sheriffian Majesty, Sidi Mohammed Ben Aberahman Ben Hisham, the present Sultan of Morocco. He expressed the pleasure of the Sultan to receive us at his Court, and his Majesty's desire to make our visit to his capital an agreeable one. Shortly after the departure of the Oozier, the Royal Vice-Chamberlain, with a cortège of cavalry, arrived at our palace to convey us to the audience.

"You may recollect that our party, in addition to myself, consisted of Mr. Thomas Fellowes Reade, Consul to her Britannic Majesty at Tangier; Captain William Armytage, of H.M.S. "Magicienne"; two of his officers; Dr. James Gibson Thomas Forbes and Lieutenant Francis Durrant; my fellow-travellers, Dr. Thomas Hodgkin and Mr. Sampson Samuel; and Mr. Moses Nahon, of Tangier, who had volunteered to accompany us to Morocco, and to whom we are all deeply indebted.

"I have not stated in my previous letters that Señor José Daniel Colaço, the Portuguese Minister at

Tangier, kindly placed at my disposal his chaise-à-porteurs to enable me to perform the journey over the rough and stony plains of the interior of Morocco. To this were harnessed two mules, one behind and one in front of the vehicle. I believe I should not have been equal to the fatigue of travelling on horseback, and, even as it was, this mode of transit was very trying and fatiguing.

"A quarter-of-an-hour's ride brought us to the gates opening upon an avenue leading to the court-yard, or open space before the palace.

"This avenue, which is of very considerable length, was lined on both sides by infantry troops of great variety of hue and accoutrements. They were standing in closely serried rank, and we must have passed several hundreds before emerging into the open plain. There a magnificent sight opened upon us; we beheld in every direction masses of troops, consisting of cavalry and foot soldiers. I should estimate the total number assembled on this occasion at not less than six thousand.

"We went forward some little distance into the plain, and saw approaching us the Oozier, the Grand Chamberlain, and other dignitaries of the Court. I descended from my vehicle, and my companions alighted from their steeds, to meet them. We were cordially welcomed. We arranged ourselves in a line to await the appearance of the Sultan. This was preceded by a string of led white horses, and the Sultan's carriage covered with green cloth. His Majesty's approach was announced by a flourish of trumpets; he was mounted on a superb white charger, the spirited movements of which were controlled by him with consummate skill. The colour of the charger indicated that we were welcomed with the highest distinction.

"The countenance of his Majesty is expressive of great intelligence and benevolence.

"The Sultan expressed his pleasure in seeing me at his Court; he said my name was well known to him, as well as my desire to improve the condition of my brethren; he hoped that my sojourn in his capital would be agreeable; he dwelt with great emphasis on his long-existing amicable relations with our country; he also said that it was gratifying to him to see two of the officers in its service at his Court.

"I had the honour, at this audience, to place in the hands of his Majesty my Memorial on behalf of the Jewish and Christian subjects of his Empire.

"After the interview we were escorted back to our garden palace with the same honours as had been paid to us on our way to the Court, my chair having a white horse led before it, as well on my going as on my returning, which is a high and distinguished mark of honour.

"The Oozier had invited us to his palace for the evening of the same day; we were entertained with true oriental hospitality.

"In the course of the evening's conversation, we elicited from the Oozier the assurance of the Sultan's desire, as well as his own, to protect the Jews of Morocco. He took note of some particular grievances which we brought to his knowledge, and promised to institute the necessary enquiries, with a view to their being redressed. Other measures were discussed, such as the enlargement of the crowded Jewish quarters in Mogador, and the grant of a house for a hospital at Tangier, all of which, the Oozier assured us, should receive his favourable consideration.....
On Friday, the 5th instant, the Imperial Edict,

under the sign-manual of the Sultan, was placed in my hands.

"On the following day we received an intimation that his Majesty would receive us on Sunday morning, the 7th instant.

"Soon after 7 a.m. on that day, the Vice-Chamberlain arrived at our palace, with the same state as on the former occasion, and we were conducted, with like honour, to the palace; there was a similar display of troops, and this time the Emperor received us in a kiosk in the palace gardens; he was seated on a mahogany sofa covered with green cloth. His Majesty renewed his friendly and courteous assurance of welcome, and expressed his hope that we had been happy and comfortable during our stay at his capital, and he renewed his assurance that it was his intention and desire to protect his Jewish subjects.

"He directed us to be conducted through his royal gardens by the chief of that department; they are very extensive, abounding in magnificent vineries, orange, olive, and other trees; there are two lakes of ornamental water, on one of which is a pleasure boat, with paddle wheels moved by mechanism. You may form some idea of the vast extent of the gardens from the fact that it took us several hours to pass through some of the principal avenues.

"Immediately after quitting the royal gardens, we visited the Jewish quarter. The crowd was enormous, our reception enthusiastic. The narrow streets or lanes, through which we had the greatest difficulty to make our way, were all but choked up with our numerous friends; from every window, from the city wall, in fact wherever the eye rested, we beheld groups of our brothers and sisters all uniting to bid us welcome.

"The same evening we were again entertained by the Oozier.

"On Monday, the 8th inst., about noon, we bade adieu to the city of Morocco, being escorted to some distance by a guard of honour of horse and foot soldiers, some of whom accompanied us until our arrival at Mazagan. The Sultan had provided me with a magnificent pavilion tent; in fact, our horses, mules, provisions, &c., were all furnished at his expense."

Sir Moses Montefiore's mission to Morocco created a deep impression. It made such a stir among the representatives of the foreign Powers in Morocco that the American Consul considered it advisable to submit a lengthy Report on the subject to his Government. For the capacity in which Sir Moses had gone to Morocco is proudly set out in the following preamble to his memorial to the Sultan: "I come supported by the sanction and approval of the Government of her Majesty, the Queen of Great Britain, and on behalf of my co-religionists in England, my native country, as well as on the part of those in every part of the world."[37] On his return journey to England,

[37] The following is the text of Sir Moses Montefiore's Address to the Sultan of Morocco:

"To His Sheriffian Majesty, the Sultan of Morocco.

"May It Please Your Majesty,—I come supported by the sanction and approval of the Government of Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, and on behalf of my co-religionists of England, my native country, as well as

he saw again the Queen of Spain, and, in passing through Paris, had an audience of the Emperor of the French on the subject of his mission to Morocco. He likewise communicated the

on the part of those in every part of the world, to entreat Your Majesty to continue the manifestation of Your Majesty's grace and favour to my brethren in Your Majesty's Empire.

"That it may please Your Majesty to give the most positive orders that the Jews and Christians dwelling in all parts of Your Majesty's dominions shall be perfectly protected, and that no person shall molest them in any manner whatso-ever in anything which concerns their safety and tranquility; and that they may be placed in the enjoyment of the same advantages as all other subjects of Your Majesty, as well as those enjoyed by the Christians living at the ports of Your Majesty's Empire; such rights were granted, through me, by his Imperial Majesty Abdul Medjid, the late Sultan of Turkey, by his Firman, given to me at Constantinople, and dated 12th Ramazan, 1256, and, in the month of May last, confirmed by his Imperial Majesty Abdul Aziz, the present Sultan of Turkey.

"Permit me to express to Your Majesty my grateful appreciation of the hospitable welcome with which Your Majesty has honoured me, and to offer to Your Majesty my heartfelt wishes for Your Majesty's health and happiness, and for the prosperity of Your Majesty's dominions."

Translation of the Imperial Edict.

"In the Name of God, the Merciful and Gracious. There is no power but in God, the High and Mighty.

"Be it known by this our Royal Edict—may God exalt and bless its purport and elevate the same to the high heavens, as he does the sun and moon!—that it is our command, that all Jews residing within our dominions,

result of his mission to the British Government, and on his return was received by Queen Victoria at Windsor Castle. In a reference to Montefiore's mission to Morocco in the House

be the condition in which Almighty God has placed them whatever it may, shall be treated by our Governors, Administrators, and all other subjects, in a manner conformable with the evenly-balanced scales of Justice, and that in the administration of the Courts of Law they (the Jews) shall occupy a position of perfect equality with all other people; so that not even a fractional portion of the smallest imaginable particle of injustice shall reach any of them, nor shall they be subjected to anything of an objectionable nature. Neither they (the Authorities) nor any one else shall do them (the Jews) wrong, whether to their persons or to their property. Nor shall any tradesman among them, or artisan, be compelled to work against his will. The work of every one shall be duly recompensed, for injustice here is injustice in Heaven, and we cannot countenance it in any matter affecting either their (the Jews') rights or the rights of others, our own dignity being itself opposed to such a course. All persons in our regard have an equal claim to justice; and if any person should wrong or injure one of them (the Jews), we will, with the help of God, punish him.

"The commands hereinbefore set forth had been given and made known before now; but we repeat them, and add force to them, in order that they may be more clearly understood, and more strictly carried into effect, as well as serve for a warning to such as may be evilly-disposed towards them (the Jews), and that the Jews shall thus enjoy for the future more security than heretofore, whilst the fear to injure them shall be greatly increased.

"This Decree, blessed by God, is promulgated on the 26th of Shaban, 1280 (15 February, 1864). Peace!"

of Commons, Mr. Layard, the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, said: "When it is recollected that there are 500,000 Jews in Morocco, some idea may be formed of the great service rendered by Sir Moses Montefiore; and, having had the honor of acting with him on various occasions, I can bear testimony to the noble and generous spirit of humanity and philanthropy which actuates him, without reference to any sect or creed, which extends to the people of every nation who are suffering wrong and injustice." Sir Moses was thanked at a public meeting by a Resolution moved by Sir Anthony de Rothschild and seconded by Mr. Gladstone; and, at the Guildhall, the Lord Mayor, on behalf of the Corporation of London, expressed in the following words the admiration which his fellow-citizens felt for him by conferring on him the freedom of the City:

> "Sir Moses Montefiore: This Court, as representing the citizens of London, has from time immemorial voted the freedom of this City to distinguished naval commanders and to renowned soldiers, who have prized the honour exceedingly. It has also voted the freedom to statesmen, to patriots, to philanthropists and to those who have devoted their time, their energies and their money to alleviate the sufferings of humanity. To you, Sir Moses Montefiore, a distinguished member of the Hebrew community, this great City has voted a resolution of thanks, expressive of their approval of the consistent course you have pursued for a long series of years, of the

> sacrifices you have made, of the time you have spent, and of the wearisome journeys you have endured, in order not only to alleviate the sufferings of your co-religionists, but of all creeds and denominations. It gives me great pleasure, Sir Moses Montefiore, to be the medium of presenting to you this resolution, and of congratulating you upon being enrolled among those whom this City has thought worthy to receive the tribute of their respect and admiration. This City has at all times been most anxious on all occasions to evince its sympathy with suffering humanity, irrespective of creed, of colour and of country, and I beg to shake you by the hand."

This high honor, accorded only to monarchs and men who had deserved well of the nation at large, set the seal of general public approval on the life and activities of Sir Moses, who, in his mission to Morocco, had braved the dangers of the journey not only for the sake of his own co-religionists, but, as was set out in his memorial to the Sultan, also of the Christian inhabitants of that country. The gratitude evinced by his fellow-Jews was demonstrated not alone by the 2,000 addresses that reached him from all parts of the world, not even by the prayers of praise and thanksgiving that were offered up in many synagogues, and the remarkable suggestion that, as in the case of Moses Maimonides, the name of Moses Montefiore be henceforth included in the recitation of every Kaddish, but by the place of honor they gave him universally in their veneration and affection.

(From a photograph)

EAST CLIFF LODGE, RAMSGATE

XII.

JUDITH MONTEFIORE

In the year 1862, the life of Sir Moses Montefiore was overshadowed by the death of his wife, to whom he had been bound by a rare attachment of half-a-century.

It is no derogation of the estimate we may form of Sir Moses to recognize that the whole tenor of his life was influenced by the high idealism of Lady Montefiore. Although she was in her person slightly deformed by a fall she had had in her childhood all accounts confirm the impression produced, by the Diaries and Journals of her travels that she was not only intellectual in her outlook but had been exceptionally endowed with personal grace, gifted with literary, musical and artistic accomplishments, speaking French, German and Italian fluently; she was, too, a keen student of Hebrew, and even of Arabic, and altogether a fitting complement to her husband. Above all, however, she possessed Jewish sympathies that had an inestimable influence on the ideas of Sir Moses. He was eminently a man of action, and, had he been left to himself, he would have amassed a great fortune and played a prominent part in the public life of England. But when, at the

zenith of his manhood, he retired from the Stock Exchange, it was his wife who was the inspiration of those bold and far-sighted measures that raised him from the status of an Anglo-Jewish notability to the rank of an epoch-making figure in Jewish history. Her intensely Jewish feelings, her devoted care in the observance of the practices and customs of Judaism, combined well with the part she was called upon to play and which won for her, as for no other Jewish woman of modern times, the heart of her people.

Moses Montefiore was most happily placed in his marriage with Judith Cohen. It seems to have been entirely unclouded, and throughout there was the closest sympathy between husband and wife. He was her "dear Monte", for whose qualities she had an unbounded admiration. He, on his part, felt a religious thankfulness for having been privileged to have the companionship of so choice a spirit. Thus he wrote in his Diary in the year 1844:

> "On this happy day, the 10th of June, thirty-two years have passed since the Almighty God of Israel, in His great goodness, blessed me with my dear Judith, and for ever shall I be most truly grateful for his blessing, the great cause of my happiness through life. From the first day of our happy union to this hour I have had every reason for increased love and esteem, and, truly may I say, each succeeding year has brought with it greater proofs of her

admirable character. A better and kinder wife never existed, one whose whole study has been to render her husband good and happy. May the God of our Fathers bestow upon her His blessing, with life, health, and every other felicity. Amen."[38]

When Sir Moses returned from the mission to Damascus, he stated publicly: "To Lady Montefiore I owe a debt of gratitude; her counsel and zeal for our religion and love for our brethren were at all times conspicuous. They animated me under difficulties and consoled me under disappointments."[39]

Again, when after his successful mission to Morocco, he was staying at Smithembottom, in Surrey, a modest rural retreat much favored by him and his late wife, he made the following characteristic reflections:—

"I have great cause for thankfulness. Since I was here in November last, I hope that, by divine blessing, I have been of some use to my fellow-creatures, both Jews and Christians, and, I believe I may add, Moors. To God alone, who helped and sustained me, be honour and glory. I believe that my dear Judith would have approved my conduct and, sure am I, had it pleased an all-wise Providence to have spared her, she would have shared my fatigue and dangers, but it was otherwise ordained, and I can only submit with humble spirit to the decree of Heaven. My angel guide of so many happy years being no longer with me on earth in mortal form, I sincerely

[38] Loewe, Diaries, I, p. 16.
[39] Wolf, op. cit., p. 195.

pray the God of Israel to be my guide, and to permit her heavenly spirit to comfort me and keep me in the right path, so that I may become deserving of the happiness to rejoin her in Heaven when it shall please God to call me from this world."[40]

Nothing could exceed the generous reference to his wife that he made a few years before his death to an admiring stranger who expressed his gratification to Sir Moses at having been permitted to converse with a man "whose glory is engraved on the hearts of every Israelite." "I am no great man" said Sir Moses, "the little good that I have accomplished, or rather that I intended to accomplish, I am indebted for it to my never-to-be-forgotten wife, whose enthusiasm for everything that is noble and whose religiousness sustained me in my career."[41]

Their views and ideals certainly blended most happily from the very beginning of their half-a-century of married life. This does not appear merely in their public activities, where, with characteristic reserve, Judith Montefiore appeared entirely absorbed in her husband's efforts, but we have her sentiments recorded in the "Journals" of her journeys to the Holy Land in 1827 and 1839 and in the Diaries she kept from the day—June 10th, 1912—when she wrote: "I was this day united in the holy bonds of mat-

[40] Loewe, Diaries II, p. 164.
[41] Wolf, op. cit., p. 193.

rimony to Moses Montefiore, whose fraternal and filial affection gained in me an interest and solicitude in his welfare at a very early period of my acquaintance with him, which, joined to many other good qualities and attention towards me, ripened into a more ardent sentiment." The posthumous publication of these tender and sometimes whimsical thoughts (which were not originally meant for the public eye), which we owe to the discerning judgment of Mr. Lucien Wolf in a slender volume entitled "Lady Montefiore's Honeymoon", reveals Judith Montefiore as worthy of the honor she enjoyed in her life-time. Her innately devout nature is manifested in a record, two days after her marriage, in which she says:

> "On lighting the candles in the evening with my mother, according to her wish and what is taught us, I experienced a new sensation of devotion and solicitude to act right. I trust that God Almighty will direct us to perform that which is most pleasing to Him. I do not know any circunstances more pleasing to me than to perceive that my dear Monte is religiously inclined. It is that sort of religion which he possesses that in my opinion is most essential—a fellow-feeling and benevolence."

Writing on December 17th, 1925, more than 13 years after their marriage, she said:

> "On perusing the few preceding pages, written during the first month of my marriage, I could not restrain my tears produced from a variety of feelings of joy and sorrow, joy in possessing in health and prosperity the good and worthy husband of my choice....."

It has often been maintained that, by marrying a "German" Jewess, Moses Montefiore was among the first of the Sephardim in England to break down the barrier that divided them from their Ashkenazi fellow-Jews. In this respect, however, he was only moving with the spirit of the times, which, in social affairs, had already tended to favor the fusion of the various Jewish sections into a homogeneous Anglo-Jewish community. But he certainly married a lady whose wide and influential family connections placed him in intimate relationship with almost all the leading English Jews of the first half of the nineteenth century; and, although he was personally a tower of strength to his own Spanish and Portuguese Congregation at Bevis Marks, he and his wife proved a centre for the whole Jewish life of London.

In June 1862, Lady Montefiore was privileged to celebrate her Golden Wedding, but her life was fast ebbing away. She died on September 24th, and her end was as serene as her life. It was the eve of the Jewish New Year, and, after evening service had been solemnly intoned in the little oratory near her bedroom, Sir Moses came to her to give her his blessing, as was his wont on Sabbath and festive occasions, and she reciprocated by placing her hand upon his head. Sir Moses then retired

to the dining room to take the festival meal with some friends, but he had scarcely finished the grace before meals when he was summoned by the doctor to Lady Montefiore's bedside as she was about to pass away.

She was buried in Ramsgate in a spot selected by herself and her husband under the shadow of the Synagogue they had built there thirty-two years before. Sir Moses at first had the idea of having her body taken to Jerusalem, to be interred in the valley of Jehoshaphat, but this was not carried into effect. Near his Synagogue he erected a mausoleum, fashioned after the white-domed sepulchre of Rachel on the road to Bethlehem, to receive the mortal remains of his beloved wife, and often did he go there to meditate and gather strength from reflections on the past.

Near the last resting place of Judith Lady Montefiore, Sir Moses built and richly endowed in her memory a Jewish Theological College, where a number of men of learning and worth devote themselves to study and prayer. He had originally intended to establish this institution in Jerusalem, but having abandoned this project, he created, in a most just appreciation of the genius of Judaism, a House of Study, which, situated near the Synagogue established

and maintained by him, became a truly Jewish memorial to Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore.[42]

[42] The Judith Lady Montefiore College, Ramsgate, was established by Sir Moses Montefiore in 1869, "As a memorial of his sincere devotion to the law of God as revealed on Sinai and expounded by the revered sages of the Mishna and the Talmud; as a token of his love and pure affection to his departed consort, Judith, Lady Montefiore, of blessed memory, whose zeal and ardent attachment to the religion of her forefathers adorned all her actions in life."

The College, containing the dwellings of the Collegiates together with the College Library and Montefiore Museum, is situated near the sea on the outskirts of Ramsgate and within five minutes' walk of East Cliff Lodge. Within the College grounds are the Synagogue and the adjoining Mausoleum of Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore.

Dr. Louis Loewe was appointed the principal of the College on its foundation. After the death of Sir Moses the administration of the Montefiore Synagogue and College in Ramsgate passed to the Elders of the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue in London. From 1890 to 1896 the College was maintained as a Rabbinical Seminary, with Haham Dr. Moses Gaster as principal. Since then it has reverted to its original purpose as a "Klaus" for elderly scholars.

XIII.

ROUMANIA

The blow that had befallen Sir Moses by the death of his wife was attenuated by the unceasing calls that were made on his sympathies and energies. The needs and claims of the Holy Land had become part of his daily thoughts, and immediately after her death he began to take measures to secure from the Turkish Government certain concessions, which were much needed for the proper working and expansion of the institutions that had been established by him in Palestine. He, therefore, undertook in 1863 another journey to the East, and in Constantinople, where he had an audience of the new Sultan Abdul Aziz, Sir Moses obtained from his Majesty a confirmation of the privileges granted to his Jewish subjects as well as of the concession given to Sir Moses personally. But his health, as well as political conditions in Turkey, did not make it advisable to proceed to Palestine, as he had intended.

After his mission to Morocco in 1864 he undertook in 1866 his sixth journey to the Holy Land, but a persecution of the Jews that had broken out in Roumania urged him to another great and memorable effort.

Simultaneously with the liberation of the Roumanians from the Turkish yoke, there developed a Roumanian Jewish question which has proved an endless source of oppression and anxiety to the Jews and a subject of serious diplomatic trouble generally. It may be said that nowhere in Europe, not even excepting Russia, has there been more virulent and systematic persecution of the Jews than in Roumania. Jews were settled in those parts as far back as Roman times, and under Turkish rule they seemed to have lived with their neighbors on tolerable terms. The situation, however, became visibly acute when, provided with a Constitution in 1856, the governing powers of Moldo-Wallachia set about to make the situation of the Jews impossible. The long story of the legal enactments designed to deprive the Jews of their civil rights and their means of livelihood is a sordid tale of conscienceless duplicity which repeatedly evoked the protests of the British and American Governments.

When in 1866 Charles of Hohenzollern was placed on the throne, he found the country in a state of great turmoil against the Jews. Any attempt to place the Jews, at least legally, on a state of equality with their Christian neighbors, was frustrated by violent riots, and John Bratianu, who became Prime Minister, took steps to utilize them for the purpose of

effectively crushing the Jews. On the strength of obsolete laws, he declared large numbers of Jews as vagrants who were to be expelled from the country. In Galatz, ten such Jews were forcibly sent by soldiers across the Turkish frontier, and, when the hapless Jews were turned back, they were driven by the Roumanians into the Danube and drowned. This was merely the culminating tragedy of a series of outrages perpetrated on the Jews. The Roumanians did not escape severe condemnation, especially in the British Parliament, and, guided by Crémieux, the Alliance Israélite exerted, though without avail, powerful influences against the wretched Danubian principality that owed its independence to the goodwill of the Western Powers.

The piteous appeals for personal intervention that reached Sir Moses Montefiore induced him in July 1867 to leave for Roumania as the representative of the Board of Deputies. He not only received the most generous support of Lord Stanley and the British Government, which had already seriously remonstrated with Roumania against its treatment of the Jews, but also the assistance of the Russian Government through Prince Gortchacoff, who telegraphed from Tsarskoe Selo to the Russian Ambassador in London: "On the receipt of the telegram of your Excellency, I have hastened

to inform our Consul-General in Bucharest of the decision of Sir Moses Montefiore to proceed to Bucharest to plead there the cause of his co-religionists. By order of our August Master, I have asked Baron Offenberg to lend to this humanitarian mission all the assistance which he could afford". The Prussian Government of Count Bismarck, as well as the French, Austrian and Italian Governments, evinced much sympathy with the mission, which received the active co-operation of the Corps Diplomattique in Bucharest. On his way through Paris, Sir Moses had an audience of Napoleon III, who was most interested, and attached a French officer to the mission. His reception at Bucharest was likewise very courteous on the part of Prince Charles, but it was accompanied by serious violence from the populace. In fact, Sir Moses and his party were openly threatened with death, and, during his stay in the Roumanian capital, there were grave disturbances, which called for all his courage and presence of mind. An angry mob, specially incited by the local anti-Jewish paper "Natiunea", gathered before the Hotel Ottetelechano, where the mission was staying, but Sir Moses appeared in front of an open window and cried: "Fire away, if you like! I came here in the name of justice and humanity to plead the cause of innocent sufferers." Nor was he afraid to face the crowds

in the street, for in spité of entreaties, he immediately afterward proceeded on a drive through the town in an open carriage. To the expressions of fear he answered: "Are you afraid? I have no fear whatever, and will at once order an open carriage, take a drive through the principal streets and thoroughfares, go even outside the town, and live near some public garden. Everyone shall see me; it is a holy cause; that of justice and humanity. I trust in God; He will protect me." As a means of safety, however, soldiers and police were stationed in the hotel and, on leaving Bucharest, he was escorted by cavalry as a guard of honor.

Sir Moses was relatively fortunate with Prince Charles, whom he saw repeatedly. The Prince, who invited him and his suite to dinner and afterwards sent his portrait to Sir Moses as an expression of high regard, replied to a communication from him:

"Monsieur le Baronnet,

"I have received your letter of the 27th August last, and have taken note of it with lively interest.

"As I have had the occasion to tell you verbally, the wishes which you have formed for your co-religionists are already fulfilled. The Israelites are the objects of my solicitude and that of my entire Government, and I am glad that you have come to Roumania to convince yourself that the religious persecution, of which ill-will has made so

much noise, does not exist. If it has happened that the Israelites have been disturbed, these are isolated incidents for which my Government cannot assume the responsibility. I shall always consider it a point of honour to respect religious liberty, and I shall unceasingly watch over the execution of the laws which protect the Israelites like all the other Roumanians in their person and in their goods.

Accept, &c.,

"Charles."

"Cotroceni, 18/30 August 1867."

Sir Moses, who arrived in Bucharest on the 22nd of August, took leave of Prince Charles on the 1st of September, and derived from his friendly attitude fair hopes for the future of the Jews under his rule.

Alas! the words of the Psalmist, "Put not your trust in princes, in a son of man in whom there is no help," must have been the bitter reflection of the venerable philanthropist when soon after his return home he had news of the renewed ill-treatment of the Jews in Moldavia A serious outbreak against the Jews at Berlad was the beginning of another series of organized outrages, while the legislative Chambers which Liberal Europe had conferred on the Principality were busy devising the most drastic and vigorous enactments against the Jews. Sir Moses found, as usual, all the assistance possible in the British authorities, and despatched through the Foreign Office another letter to Prince Charles on the violation of all

the promises that had been so lavishly made by him and his Government. To this he received a reply from M. Stefan Golesco, the Roumanian Minister for Foreign Affairs, holding out reparation and protection to the Jews, a course of proceedings which politicians of Bucharest since then developed by practice into a fine art.

A pleasing contrast to the continued oppression of the Jews in Roumania was afforded to Sir Moses by a report from Saffi, Morocco, giving particulars of energetic measures adopted by the Sultan in punishing outrages against the Jews, on which Sir Moses made the following apposite reflections, which, in view of later events, are not without a touch of irony.

> "If a monarch, ruling over an Empire so far away from Europe, the land of civilization, acts so energetically in the cause of justice and humanity, and expresses publicly his severe displeasure to the officers in charge of the administration of the law of the country, how much more is there every reason to hope that his Serene Highness, Prince Charles, himself a most enlightened ruler among the Potentates of Europe, who has repeatedly expressed his disapproval of acts of injustice, will not rest in his humane exertions until, even more effectively than the Sultan of Morocco is always able to do, he will have secured to all who dwell under his sway, irrespective of their religious connections, full protection and the rights and privileges to which every loyal subject is fully entitled."[43]

[43] Loewe, Diaries II, p. 223.

A valuable insight into the psychology of Sir Moses is afforded in connection with his mission to Bucharest. When it became known there that he was proceeding to Roumania, M. A. Halfon, the president of the Bucharest branch of the Alliance Israélite, addressed to him a letter asking him to stay away, as his presence in that country would offend the susceptibilities of the Roumanians. Sir Moses did not take this advice, as it became known to him that the wealthy Jews in Roumania, being in a more favorable position than their humble co-religionists, were by no means desirous of exposing themselves through external intervention to the displeasure of the Roumanian authorities.

XIV.

RUSSIAN AFFAIRS

Perhaps the most grateful foreign mission that Sir Moses Montefiore undertook was his journey to Russia in the year 1872, on the occasion of the bi-centenary of the birth of Peter the Great. The Board of Deputies then passed a Resolution of congratulation on the auspicious occasion, which Sir Moses offered to present personally to the Emperor Alexander II. That monarch, who in 1855 succeeded Nicholas I, adopted a policy of toleration which resulted in an extraordinary transformation of the social conditions of the Russian Jews. The hard crust of separatism, which Nicholas I found such an impervious obstacle to his sinister efforts, melted rapidly under the mild régime of Alexander II, and, although Russian legislation was not materially altered in favor of the Jews, the mere effect of a more equitable administration was enough to ensure among them a well-being and progress which, in a relative sense, transformed that period into the Golden Age of Russian Jewry.

The aspect that presented itself to Sir Moses on his visit to St. Petersburg was highly gratifying, and occasioned a welcome surprise to him

when he compared the state of affairs with that on his former visit in 1846. He now found himself in the midst of men who lacked nothing of European culture, and who at the same time exhibited high attainments in the realm of Jewish scholarship and communal life. With the disappearance of the oppressive atmosphere that weighed so heavily upon the Jews under the harsh rule of Nicholas I, there had come into the lives of the Russian Jews a feeling of intellectual buoyancy which was reflected in every direction.

> "When I had the honour of an audience with the Emperor Nicholas in 1846", Sir Moses wrote on one occasion,[44] "his Majesty observed that the law of Russia did not permit Jews to sleep in St. Petersburg. I said, 'I trust your Majesty will see fit to alter them', and the reply was, 'I hope so!' Twenty-six years later, on my again visiting St. Petersburg to seek an audience of the late Emperor Alexander, I found 12,000 of my co-religionists settled there; many of them had decorations, and a goodly number filled high offices in the University and public libraries; some were bankers, others merchants. On my arrival there, I was asked by a person of high authority what my object was in seeking an audience of the Emperor. I replied that it was to convey my gratitude to his Majesty for having realized the hope expressed to me by his father. The Prime Minister then assured me, in the presence of three or four Ministers of State, that the Russian Jews, if qualified

[44] Ibid., II, p. 300.

by their abilities and moral character, could attain any high position in the Empire."

Sir Moses, accompanied by Dr. Loewe, proceeded to Russia in spite of the cholera which had broken out there at the time, but he must have felt compensated by the flattering reception which Alexander II accorded to him. Out of consideration for his aged visitor, his Majesty came down specially from the military manœuvres in order to receive the address which Sir Moses had come to present to him. It was in these happy terms that he reported to the Board of Deputies his audience with the Tsar on the 24th of July:

"At the appointed hour I proceeded to the Winter Palace, accompanied by Dr. Loewe. We ascended in a lift to the great ante-room of the Emperor, into which we were immediately ushered. There we found his Excellency Monsieur de Westmann, the Imperial Lord Chamberlain, the Imperial Grand Maître des Cérémonies, and several other distinguished personages, who entered into conversation with me on various subjects of importance to our co-religionists. After an interval thus agreeably passed, his Excellency, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, was summoned before the Tsar, and soon afterwards I was conducted into the presence of his Imperial Majesty, to whom, in the name of your Board and its several constituent congregations, I presented the address, of which the following is a copy:—

'To His Imperial Majesty Alexander the Second, Tsar of all the Russias.

'May it please your Imperial Majesty,—Impressed by the deep sense of gratitude for the numerous acts of grace which your Imperial Majesty has been pleased to extend to our brethren who have the happiness to dwell under your Imperial Majesty's exalted rule, and prompted by the ardent desire to join the numerous hosts—friends of enlightenment and civilization—who hasten to tender their felicitation on Russia's great day of gladness and joy, we, the London Committee of Deputies of British Jews, on behalf of ourselves and the several congregations we respectively represent, humbly approach your Imperial Majesty to lay at the foot of your Imperial Throne the tribute of our sincere and heartfelt congratulations on the occasion of the two hundredth anniversary of the birth of your Imperial Majesty's august ancestor, the Emperor Peter the Great.

'Glorious and renowned were the deeds of the beatified Monarch. He was "the father of his people" and the author of all that was right and just in the vast Empire which he ruled; but all the good he effected would have vanished had not Eternal Providence ordained his spirit, the spirit of wisdom, justice, and humanity, to descend on his august offspring; and it is in this heavenly mercy that we, your Imperial Majesty's humble servants, discern a special cause for felicitation.

'Already, in the year 1846, Sir Moses Montefiore, Bart., the President of our Board, had the distinguished honour to receive personally from your Imperial Majesty's august father, the Emperor Nicholas, the expression of his ardent desire for the happiness and welfare of all classes of his Imperial Majesty's subjects, and you, Sire, have been selected as an instrument of Providence to emancipate millions

of human beings, to foster education, to encourage the arts and sciences, and to promote free intercourse between man and man, by opening the gates of your Imperial Majesty's vast Empire to persons of all religious denominations.

'Most fervently, therefore, do we invoke the Creator of the universe to prolong the days of your Imperial Majesty and those of your most illustrious family, so that you, Sire, may have the felicity of seeing all your wise and noble plans for the prosperity and peace of your Imperial Majesty's subjects realized; and likewise the gratifying opportunity of listening for a period of long duration to the hallowed hymns of gratitude from the millions of your faithful and loyal subjects, in which—we venture to hope your Imperial Majesty will graciously condescend to accept our assurance—none can join with more fervour than our brethren in your Imperial Majesty's Empire and the London Committee of Deputies of the British Jews.

'Signed on behalf of the Board,
'Moses Montefiore, President.'

"His Imperial Majesty, who conversed most fluently in the English language, received me with the utmost grace and kindness. He adverted to the circumstance of my having had an audience with his august father in the year 1846, and expressed himself most graciously on every subject having reference to my Mission. His Imperial Majesty also graciously spoke to Dr. Loewe. Nor can I here omit to record my grateful appreciation of his Imperial Majesty's consideration in having come from the seat of the summer manœuvres to the Winter Palace, expressly to spare me fatigue in consequence of my advanced age, and having there

> received the address of which I was the bearer. I quitted the Palace with a heart overflowing with gratitude, for indeed I am at a loss for words in which adequately to describe the gracious sentiments which his Imperial Majesty and the members of the Government evinced towards me."

Jewish popular imagination has, not without justification, invested with a romantic glamor the meeting between the mighty Tsar of All the Russias and the devoted champion of the ancient people of Israel. The courteous attentions bestowed on Sir Moses by the highest Russian authorities on the two occasions on which he visited St. Petersburg, were certainly remarkable triumphs of his moral power over the most hardened despotism of Europe.

When returning to England *viâ* Vilna and Kovno, where he was received with great joy, he was met at the latter place by Rabbi Isaac Elhanan Spektor, the foremost rabbinical authority in Russia, if not in the world, during the second half of the nineteenth century. If ever a gifted painter should seek to put on canvas some historic scene in modern Jewish history, he will find no more grateful subject than the meeting between these two princes of Israel, one with the crown of the Torah and the other crowned by good deeds.

Sir Moses had established close relations with leading Jews in Russia, and his desire to help them

was so intense that in 1881, at the age of ninety-eight, he was again anxious to proceed to that country to intervene on their behalf. When his friends remonstrated that he must not think of undertaking such a journey at such an advanced age and in his weak state of health, he replied, "If necessary I will be carried there. Take me in my carriage to the train, put me on board ship, then again on the train, and then in St. Petersburg I will be carried into the presence of the Emperor. Nothing shall prevent me from serving my unfortunate brethren if I can be of use to them."[45] How seriously all this was meant is evidenced by the fact that when on his journey to Russia in 1872 he was told that his visit to that country would be dangerous owing to the outbreak of cholera, he declined to be influenced by it. And when, in 1873, on the occasion of the betrothal of the Duke of Edinburgh to the Grand Duchess Marie Alexandrovna of Russia, the Board of Deputies passed a vote of congratulation to the Tsar, Sir Moses was anxious to go again to St. Petersburg, but was dissuaded by Count Brunnow, the Russian Ambassador at the Court of St. James's, who, during his long tenure of office, displayed a great personal interest in the benevolent intentions of Sir Moses. On the acknowledgment of the Address, which was

[45] Ibid.

sent by Count Brunnow to St. Petersburg, he was informed by M. de Westmann that the Emperor

> "was particularly touched by the desire manifested by Sir Moses to proceed personally to Russia in order to be the medium of the congratulations of his co-religionists. His Majesty could not but approve the consideration that you had shown in saving Sir Moses Montefiore the fatigue of so long a journey. He has given me the special instruction to convey to him his thanks through your Excellency and to assure him that, having the best recollections of the visit of Sir Moses to St. Petersburg, he unchangeably maintains the good will which he manifested towards him personally as well as towards his co-religionists, whose cause he has pleaded with such warm devotion."[46]

This unfaltering devotion to Jewish interests was again exemplified in 1879, when a ritual murder charge was made against the Jews of Kutais, in the Caucasus. It was one of those periodical ritual murder cases which create a great stir, but which later on not even the most malevolent attitude of the judicial authorities can find a shadow of evidence to substantiate. In this instance, too, Sir Moses was keenly bent upon appearing personally in Russia to see justice done, but the favorable course of the trial made this self-sacrificing intention unnecessary.

Then came the anti-Jewish outbreaks in Russia in 1881–2, which proved the forerunners

[46] Ibid., II, p. 258.

(From a photograph)

JUDITH, LADY MONTEFIORE, COLLEGE, RAMSGATE

of untold misery to the Jewish people. The part which England then took to stem the tide of Jew-hatred that had been let loose with such fury will ever remain a noble page in her annals. The meeting at the Mansion House in London, which was convened in response to a requisition signed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Cardinal Manning, James Martineau, B. Jowett, Matthew Arnold, John Tyndall, Charles Darwin, and other eminent Englishmen, was one of the most imposing gatherings of the kind which was held in that historic building. Many memorable Christian utterances were then made on behalf of the Jews, but much of what was then said was inspired by the charity evoked by a Jewish life such as that of Sir Moses Montefiore. "Your name" wrote to him Mr. Lionel L. Cohen, who took a leading part in the Relief Fund that was then being raised, "was received with enthusiasm at the Mansion House, none the less genuine because, as became him in that place, the Lord Mayor coupled it with your long connection with civil work." Sir Moses was deeply moved by the kindly sentiments of his fellow-citizens, and when, on the day following the meeting, he sent, as a token of his gratitude, a sum of £500 to the building fund of the City of London School, the Lord Mayor, Sir J. Whittaker Ellis, acknowledged it in a letter, in which he said:

"It will be a source of great pleasure to me to be enabled to report to the Committee to-morrow that the fund raised here under their auspices for your suffering co-religionists in Russia amounts to nearly £40,000."

The following informal letter of the Archbishop of Canterbury on the occasion gives perhaps the best insight into the feelings of affectionate regard in which Sir Moses was held by the highest in the land and by men of every creed.

"My dear Sir Moses, I cannot refrain from writing to you, knowing how your heart must be torn by the distressing news from Russia. It is as if the enemy of mankind was let loose to destroy the souls of so many Christians and the bodies of your people. I cannot but hope that a united cry of indignation from England will, with God's blessing, stop this wickedness.

"With my daughter's kindest regards and my own, ever yours, A. C. Cantuar."[47]

His heart went out to his brethren in distress, and, in so far as he was personally concerned, he not only followed closely the various activities and incidents which were reported to him in connection with the Russo-Jewish tragedy, but was restlessly anxious to intervene actively on their behalf. "If it be thought advisable, I am quite ready to go again to St. Petersburg,"[48] he wrote to his nephew, Arthur Cohen, the

[47] Ibid., II, p. 305.
[48] Ibid., II, 300.

eminent lawyer, who was then president of the Board of Deputies. Those were the words of a great-hearted man, whom not even the ebbing flow of ninety-eight years could daunt when the honor or peace of his people was at stake.

XV.

HIS LAST VISITS TO THE HOLY LAND

Amidst all the circumstances which made him the central figure of so many interesting or moving events, the condition of the Jews in Palestine was uppermost in his mind. He had developed a passionate longing for what was to him indeed the Holy Land, and he took every means to evince his abiding devotion to it. He maintained an extensive and constant correspondence with rabbis and scholars in Palestine, many of whom or of whose descendants are still the proud possessors of his letters, wrapped in envelopes bearing at the back the inscription "Holy Land". In spite of his large vision of life, he was much addicted to regulating personally matters of detail, and, when on visits to Palestine, he would examine minutely—not infrequently to the great embarrassment of his protégés—the various enterprises he had set on foot or supported for raising the well-being of those who had settled in the Land of Israel and had, therefore, a claim on his sympathies. When he established a dispensary in Jerusalem, he took personal trouble in looking after the despatch of medicaments from London, and he devoted a great deal of his time to the

details of the erection of a windmill in that city by a Ramsgate contractor and British workmen, while his stipulation that the poor should only have to pay a nominal charge for their use of the mill is an indication of his singular forethought. On a visit to Palestine in 1875, when he sent Dr. Loewe to inspect a boyara (plantation) for the promotion of agriculture among the Jews, Sir Moses wrote:

> "When the boyara was bought in 5616 (1855), there were not less than 1,407 trees, bearing oranges, sweet lemons, lemons, citrons, pomegranates, apples, peaches, almonds, dates, apricots, mulberries, pears, figs and bananas, and I was anxious to know how many we have now in the garden. Accordingly he (Dr. Loewe) started on the 14th of July at six o'clock in the morning, for the boyara, inspected the houses, the garden and the adjoining field, examined the well and cistern, and made a rough sketch of the estate. From statements reported in England, I expected not to find a single tree in the garden, the house in ruins, and the cistern and water-wheel destroyed, but I was now fortunately able to convince myself that such was not the case. It was arranged that I should proceed the next day to the boyara, accompanied by the English Vice-Consul and everyone of my own party, so as to be enabled to have complete inspection of the place."[49]

With his practical turn of mind, he was constantly endeavoring to create agricultural

[49] "Narrative of a Forty Days' Sojourn in the Holy Land."

and industrial undertakings which would ensure the livelihood of his beneficiaries. He thus, for instance, gave a printing press to someone, or brought over from Palestine three men to learn weaving at Preston, and altogether pursued those lines of technical development and of self-help which, with all the experience at their disposal, Jewish organizations in Palestine have thought it well to maintain subsequently. He made various attempts to create an efficient water-supply in Jerusalem, and collaborated with the Syrian Improvement Committee (of which he was a member) and Baroness Burdett-Coutts in this matter, but met with too many difficulties that were put in his way on the part of the Turkish authorities. On that account, he must have been particularly gratified at having been permitted in 1866 to erect an awning at the "Western Wall" of the Temple for the comfort of the Jewish pilgrims to that hallowed site. The fact that he was a pioneer will explain why an exceptional amount of initiative and tenacity was required of him, and, though he had to confine himself in the main to eleemosynary means in order to raise the status of his co-religionists, history must regard him as one who laid the foundations of the new Yishub (settlement) in Palestine.

A subject on which little was heard, but which,

nevertheless, engaged his close attention, was the activity of the Christian missionaries with which the Jews of Palestine were particularly plagued during the second and third quarters of the nineteenth century. Equipped with large funds, particularly from England, the Protestant missionaries to the Jews concentrated their attacks on the Jewish population in Palestine, endeavoring on the one hand, to exploit their helpless poverty, and, on the other, to create a melodramatic demonstration against Judaism by a conglomeration of baptised Jews in Jerusalem, and even by the appointment in 1841 of a converted Jew and former Jewish missionary, M. S. Alexander, as the first Protestant Bishop in the Holy City. Sir Moses Montefiore was above wrangling with the missionaries and he, therefore, confined himself to counteracting their efforts by affording to the Jews in Palestine such relief as would save them from being compelled to apply as a last resource to the pseudo-charitable agencies of the missionary organizations.

The innate courtesy of Sir Moses even towards those who were bent on destroying the faith he so deeply cherished, is illustrated by an account of four Scottish clergymen who, on a visit to Palestine for missionary purposes, met him on their way:

"In a little after we came to the eminence where Sir Moses Montefiore had pitched his tents. He had fixed a cord round the tents at a little distance, that he might keep himself in quarantine. On the outside of this a crowd of about twenty or thirty Jews were collected, spreading out their petitions before him. Some were getting money for themselves, some for their friends, some for the purposes of religion. It was an interesting scene, and called up to our minds the events of other days, when Israel were not strangers in their own land. Sir Moses and his lady received us with great kindness, and we were served with cake and wine. He conversed freely on the state of the land, the miseries of the Jews, and the fulfilment of prophecy. He said that the Bible was the best guide-book in the Holy Land; and, with much feeling, remarked that, sitting on this very place, within sight of Mount Moriah, he had read Solomon's prayer over and over again. He told us that he had been at Safed and Tiberias, and that there were 1500 Jews in the latter town, and more in the former; but they were in a very wretched condition, for first they had been robbed by the Arabs, then they suffered from the earthquake, and now they were plundered by the Druses. When Dr. Keith suggested that they might be employed in making roads through the land, as materials were abundant, and that it might be the beginning of the fulfilment of the prophecy, 'Prepare ye the way of the people; cast up the highway, gather out the stones,' Sir Moses acknowledged the benefit that would attend the making of roads, but feared that they would not be permitted. He seemed truly interested in the temporal good of his brethren, and intent upon employing their young people in the cultivation of the vine, the olive and the mul-

berry. We explained to him the object of our visit to this land, and assured him that the Church of Scotland would rejoice in any amelioration he might effect in the temporal condition of Israel."[50]

On one occasion, however, Sir Moses openly took up the cudgels on behalf of the rabbinical authorities in Safed, who had been charged by the Rev. Dr. N. Macleod, of Glasgow, in the periodical "Good Words" of 1865, with having inflicted the penalty of death on a Jewess convicted of immorality. The statement that one of the rabbis who tried and condemned her was himself notoriously implicated, cast a sinister reflection on the moral condition of the Jews in Palestine generally. While on his visit to Jerusalem in 1866, Sir Moses invited the representatives of the Safed community to meet him and held an inquiry into the charge in question. It happened that while there was a Jewish woman in Safed guilty of immoral conduct with a Mohammedan, "there had been no trial, no punishment of death, nor was a rabbi in the slightest degree implicated", and that the woman, having been divorced, returned to Damascus to her father. On the facts of the case having been brought to the attention of Dr. Macleod, he readily accepted the correction.

[50] Narrative of a Mission of Inquiry to the Jews from the Church of Scotland in 1839; pp. 142, 143.

At the same time, his friendly and appreciative attitude toward Christian clerics was evidenced by his generous reference to the Anglican Bishop in Jerusalem, Dr. Gobat, "whose unvarying courtesy, enlightened views, profound learning and warm zeal for the welfare of the inhabitants of the Holy City, no one who has enjoyed the honour of his acquaintance can fail to appreciate."[51] When he visited Jerusalem in 1875, Sir Moses had the Bishop's sedan chair, the only one in that city, placed at his convenience.

In later years, Sir Moses was assisted in his Palestinian efforts by his nephews, Haim Guedalla and Joseph Sebag (afterwards Sir Joseph Sebag Montefiore), both of whom were men of affairs of considerable distinction in the City of London. Haim Guedalla (1815–1904), who exhibited great energy in Jewish public questions and in 1869 obtained from Marshal Prim permission for the return of the Jews to Spain, utilized, though without success, his position as chairman of the Bondholders of the General Debt of Turkey from 1876 to 1881 to negotiate with the Grand Vizier Midhat Pasha for the sale of land in Palestine in lieu of over-due interest. Joseph Sebag Montefiore (1822–1903) succeeded Sir Moses in the East Cliff Lodge Estate, and, as president of the Board of Elders of the Spanish

[51] Loewe, Diaries II, p. 182.

and Portuguese Synagogue and of the Jewish Board of Deputies, took up the rôles that were filled by his uncle. Not only did he maintain the family interest in the Montefiore Endowment Synagogue and College in Ramsgate, but he was the guiding spirit in the administration of the benefactions that were created by Sir Moses for the Jewish poor in the Holy Land.

The last two—the sixth and seventh—journeys of Sir Moses Montefiore to Palestine, in the years 1866 and 1875 respectively, were recorded in detail and are of great interest in the history of the modern development of that country. The account of the first of these journeys was set out in a Report which Sir Moses addressed to the Board of Deputies, and the other in a "Narrative of a Forty Days' Sojourn in the Holy Land", which was printed for private circulation.

In 1866 the immediate cause of his journey was an outbreak of cholera and the severe distress consequent on a failure of the harvest and an invasion of locusts in Palestine. The Board of Deputies, headed by Sir Moses, initiated another Fund for the relief of the Jews there. On this occasion he was accompanied by Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Sebag, Dr. Loewe and Dr. Hodgkin, his devoted medical attendant, who, to the grief of Sir Moses, died in Jaffa while on this visit to Palestine. As was

usual with Sir Moses when he proceeded on an important journey, he attended the Synagogue in Bevis Marks before his departure, and Sir Benjamin Phillips, then Lord Mayor of London, was likewise present and opened the Ark, when a special prayer for the success of the undertaking was offered up. Special services were held in other synagogues in London and the provinces, as had become the custom whenever Sir Moses set out on a mission of mercy.

The presence of Sir Moses Montefiore in Palestine became the most stirring event in the communal life of the Jews in that country, who looked forward with unbounded hopes to the results of his endeavors among them. In the account of his journey Sir Moses mentions that on his arrival "there were to be seen all our brethren from Jerusalem who were capable of leaving the city, headed by the representatives of their synagogues, colleges and schools." The Turkish authorities were profuse with their courtesies in welcoming him. Expectations rose very high. "I was told," Sir Moses wrote, "of the great sufferings which the people of Jerusalem had endured, the prevalence of the epidemic, and was assured in glowing words of the benefits which the people anticipated from my visit, expecting, as they did, direct relief from me. This clearly proved the difficulty and delicate nature of the task that lay before

me, for my principal object in visiting Jerusalem was not so much to afford pecuniary aid to the people as to ascertain what could be done for them, so as to remove the more permanent causes of their troubles."

It cannot be said that in those days there was much in Jerusalem to cheer the Jewish heart. On the contrary, the grinding poverty of the people, the mean surroundings, and the pathetically helpless condition of those who, trusting to Providence and the benevolence of their co-religionists, had come to die in the Holy Land, might have created a feeling of despair in anyone who endeavored to improve the state of affairs there, but Sir Moses Montefiore was a man of stout heart and great faith where his people was concerned. He saw deeply beneath the surface of things. He realized the sincere piety, the uncomplaining, God-fearing nature of those who had been attracted from afar by the glamor of the Land of Israel, and he found that those people were potentially industrious and innately self-respecting. In his personal interest in the affairs of his beneficiaries, he was keenly impressed by the charity and self-sacrifice of those whose needs he felt called upon to relieve. "Assuredly", he maintained with a touch of pride in the qualities of his humble co-religionists, "these noble characteristics distinguishing the poorest of our com-

munity in Jerusalem well entitle them to our admiration, sympathy and assistance." Indeed, in spite of bleak appearances, he was elevated beyond measure by the inherent promise of a bright future. When, on his sixth visit, he took his departure from Jerusalem, he was "more deeply than ever impressed with its sacred reminiscences and its perennial beauty, and more fervently than ever offering prayers for its future welfare."[52] And, on his return to England, he called on Lord Clarendon at the Foreign Office and informed his Lordship about the condition of the Jews in Jerusalem, "that great improvements had already been made there, and on my arrival at Jerusalem I found that the land was much better cultivated and that there were many more buildings than on the occasion of my last visit." Lord Clarendon told Sir Moses that if he would send him an account of it in writing he would take the opportunity of thanking the Turkish authorities in the name of the British Government for the reception accorded to Sir Moses in Palestine.

In spite of his many other preoccupations, there was no flagging of his interest in the welfare of his people in the Holy Land. In 1874 we find him addressing a communication to the Jewish leaders there, asking them for suggestions for the amelioration of their co-re-

[52] Ibid., II, p. 187

ligionists in that country.[53] The replies he received were submitted by him to the Palestine

[53] "I have set the Lord always before me."

"Grosvenor Gate, Park Lane,

"London, Wednesday, 15th of Ab, 5634.

"Peace, peace to the chosen of the people, whose delight is in the law of the Lord; my soul loves them according to their worth and dignity. May the Eternal bless them. May their reward be complete from the Lord, the God of Israel, and may their eyes and ours behold the glory of the rebuilding of Aree-el.

"To the Rev. the Haham Bashi, and the representatives of the several Congregations in the Holy City of.....

"Gentlemen,

"It has ever been my earnest desire, since I first had the opportunity of becoming acquainted with the state of great poverty and distress that prevailed among you, to ameliorate your condition and cause salvation to spring forth in the Holy Land by means of industrial pursuits, such as agriculture, mechanical work, or some suitable business, so as to enable both the man who is not qualified to study, but is fully able (by his physical strength) to main tain himself by the labour of his hands, and may be willing to devote the day to the work necessary for the support of his family and the night to the study of the Law of God, to find the means of an honourable living. Already, in the years 5599 and 5626, I entreated you to assist me with your wise and judicious counsel, and begged of you to point out to me the right path. I then forwarded to you statistical and agricultural forms, to enable you to record therein all the information required, and you most cheerfully complied with my request, and gave me all the particulars referring to these subjects. I, on my part, made known to all my friends and acquaintances the information

Committee of the Board of Deputies. This body, however, did not keep pace with his unwearying zeal. In July of that year we find the following entries in his Diary:

> "I should have been pleased had I been strong enough to go to London. I feel a deep interest in the question now under consideration of the London

I received from you; but, unfortunately, from various unaccountable causes, I met with little success, and your condition remained the same as before. Having again this year noticed all the troubles and hardships you had to undergo from scarcity of bread, and from want of means to procure it, I thought I would try again, now for the third time, to ascertain whether any of your suggestions regarding the best mode of ameliorating your condition, either by agriculture or by mechanical work, within or without the house, or some suitable business pursuits if clearly and distinctly set forth to our brethren, might not, under present circumstances, be more favourably received, and induce them more readily to hasten with their succour to a most deserving class of people, so as to procure lasting comfort among you. Let me, therefore, entreat you to fully acquaint me with your views on this subject; point out to me what I am to do in order to hasten thereby the cause of bringing salvation into the land. Consider well which is the proper path, appearing most clearly to you, to produce the remedy you stand in need of. By doing so you will comply with the wishes of your brethren, who love and kiss, as it were, the dust of the Holy Land. Be strong and of good courage. Do not say, 'Our words are of no avail,' but send speedily a reply to him who holds you in great esteem, and prays for the welfare of his people.

"Moses Montefiore."

Committee of British Jews for assisting our brethren to cultivate land in Palestine. I am confident, if capital could be raised for the purpose, the people, the country, and the contributors would all be greatly benefited by the work. We could suggest that a million sterling should be obtained by 1,000,000 of £ 1 subscriptions, and I believe I could obtain, within one year, that sum for the purpose from the Jews in the four quarters of the globe.

"I feel deep anxiety on the subject of the projected scheme for agriculture in the Holy Land. I would suggest that a Committee should be sent to Jerusalem, Safed, Tiberias and Hebron to report. I should be willing to accompany the commissioners at my own expense, should it be the desire of the Board of Deputies."

Being now ninety years of age, even Sir Moses felt the weight of years, and resigned the office of president of the Board of Deputies, which he had held for a period of more than three decades. The Board's Annual Report for the year 1874 gave expression to the sentiments of its members in the following words of evident moderation:

"Considering Sir Moses Montefiore's lengthened association with the Board, his exalted character, his potent influence in the councils of monarchs and of ministers, and the rare judgment and tact which he exhibited in directing the affairs of the Board, the Deputies contemplated with deep concern and regret the possibility of his retirement from their body."

On his resignation as president, the Board of

Deputies elected him as an honorary member in order to retain its highly valued connection with the venerable philanthropist. For though Sir Moses was the spokesman of the Board it was his own personality that told in his words and actions. The Board was indebted to him for having raised it from the status of a local body of a small community of Jews to an organization of international repute and authority.

Down to the end of his long term of office, Sir Moses endeavored to interest the Board of Deputies in the condition of the Jews in Palestine, and when, desirous of commemorating in a tangible form the services of their eminent president, the members of the Board invited him to state the object he would like benefited, he suggested a fund for the improvement of the Jews in that country. The Sir Moses Montefiore Testimonial Fund, for which a sum of over £12,000 was collected, has done useful work, particularly in encouraging the erection of model dwellings and of public works for the benefit of those who were so near his heart. The building societies "Mishkenoth Israel" and "Ohel Mosheh" in Jerusalem, established through the Testimonial Fund, have been the means of effecting notable improvements in the housing accomodation in that city and in the development of the Jewish quarters outside its walls.

Once more, a nonagénarian, Sir Moses set out for the Holy Land to examine personally the conditions it was his unremitting desire to ameliorate. Referring to the suggestions of the Jewish authorities in Palestine, which he had submitted to the Board of Deputies, he said:

> "However satisfactory these letters may have been to me and to all those who, like myself, had the opportunity of knowing the Holy Land, there were still some who expressed great doubt regarding the correctness of all the statements made therein, and being afraid lest such doubts, when spread amongst the Hebrew communities, might damp the ardor of those who appeared ready to offer a helping hand in the great object in view, I resolved, notwithstanding the entreaties and remonstrances of dear relatives and esteemed friends, to proceed at once to Jerusalem, so as to be enabled to confer personally with those who had addressed to me the letters in question, as well as with others whom I had not the opportunity of seeing during my former visits to the Holy Land."

On June 15, 1875 he set down the following characteristic note in the "Narrative" he wrote on his seventh and last pilgrimage to the Holy Land: "After having offered up my prayers in the mausoleum of her who, like a guardian angel, so often sustained me on my journeys with her loving affection and judicious counsel, I left East Cliff about midday for Dover".

On his arrival in Venice, Sir Moses presented a letter of introduction to Vice-Admiral Sir James

Drummond, who offered every assistance, but informed him at the same time that cholera had broken out in Syria. "It appeared to me," he wrote, "that I had a certain duty to perform, a duty owing to our religion and to our beloved brethren in the Holy Land. Nothing, therefore, I made up my mind, should prevent me proceeding on my journey."

On his way to the Holy Land, he felt the happy serenity of his mind reflected in the surrounding nature. After his embarkation at Dover, he records:

> "The fine weather now accompanied us all along our journey, like the pillar of cloud during the day and the pillar of fire during the night in ancient times, and, with a heart full of gratitude, I may now say that during full three months, whether on land or on sea, the pleasure of the journey was enhanced by the most delightful weather."

On July 9th he proceeded from Alexandria to Jaffa. Regarding this he writes:

> "As we were steaming out of the harbour, my spirits became buoyant in the extreme. God granted me his special blessing to find myself again on the road to Jerusalem. The sea was calm as a lake, not a ripple could be seen on its glowing mirror. The declining sun reminded me of the approaching Sabbath. That day has always been a particular object of delight to me. By the kindness and civility of the people on board, I was never interrupted in any way in the performance of my religious duties. Every Friday as the Sabbath was

about setting in, I could light my Sabbath lamp, which I always carried with me, and I often had the gratification of seeing the seven lights burn as late as midnight, undisturbed by the motion of the vessel."

On nearing the shores of the Holy Land, he describes his feelings in the following exalted strain:

"Myriads of celestial luminaries, each of them as large and bright almost as any of the radiant planets in the western horizon, were now emitting their silvery rays of light in the spangled canopy over us. Sure and steady our ship steered towards the coast of the land so dearly beloved, summoning all to sleep, but few of the passengers retired that night. Every one of them appeared to be in meditation. It was silent all around us—silent, so that the palpitation of the heart might almost be heard. It was, as if everyone had the words on his lips, 'Ah, when will our eyes be gladdened by the first glance of the Holy Land? When shall we be able to set foot on the spot which was the long-wished-for goal of our meditations?' Such were that night the feelings of every Gentile passenger on board. And what other thoughts, I ask, could have engrossed the mind of an Israelite? The words of R. Judah Halevi, which he uttered when entering the gates of Jerusalem, now came into my mind:

'The kingdoms of idolatry will all change and disappear; thy glory alone, O Zion, will last for ever; for the Eternal has chosen thee for His abode. Happy the man who is now waiting in confiding hope to behold the rising glory of Thy light.'

"'Praise be to God,' I exclaimed, 'who bestoweth

> gracious favours on the undeserving, for on me he bestoweth all good.'"

The "Narrative" affords an excellent insight into the conditions prevailing among the Jews of Palestine prior to the comparatively large immigration which set in after the Russian excesses of 1881–2. Already then Sir Moses noted that, with the growth of modern education among the Jews in the Holy Land, "a great struggle might possibly in some future day arise, even in Jerusalem, between the Progressist party—those who did not come to the Holy Land from religious motives, but from reasons connected with special circumstances—and the strictly Conservative party, whose sole object in coming to Jerusalem was the preservation of their religion." But although he was inclined to conservative tendencies, he favored everything that could develop the physical and mental resources of his co-religionists in Palestine. An interesting episode illustrating the physical aspect of this question, which afforded him much pleasure, was provided by an incident which occurred to him on approaching the Holy City on his last visit:

> "I was longing to see Jerusalem, and decided, notwithstanding my previous arrangements, to start on Saturday night. We waited for the rising of the moon, and twenty minutes past eleven o'clock started for Jerusalem. Those were exciting moments which presented themselves to my mind, now and

then, as we ascended and descended the hills and dales on the road; the moon throwing her long and dark shadow when behind a rock. They recalled to memory how much exposed the traveller was in former years to the attacks of a Bedouin, or some feudal lord. Now, thank God, thanks to the protection of the Turkish Government, we do not hear of such outrages on peaceable pilgrims. Just as I concluded these meditations, two Bedouins in full speed dashed along from behind some hidden rock, and directed their course right up to our carriage. 'Good Heaven,' I thought, 'we ought not to be too hasty here in bestowing praises on the protection of the police; what in the world will they do with us?' But Dr. Loewe, who was with me in the carriage, suddenly called out as loud as he could, 'Shalom Alechem, Rabbi B. S.; Shalom Alechem, Rabbi L.S.,' and, turning round to me, he said, 'These are not Bedouins, though they are dressed exactly like them, and gallop along the hills like the sons of the desert, but they are simply our own brethren from Jerusalem, who, I have no doubt, came to ascertain the exact time of your intended entry into Jerusalem, to give timely notice to the people to come out to meet you.' And so it was. A minute afterwards they pulled up the reins of their fiery chargers, and stood before us. 'A happy and blessed week to you, Dr. Loewe,' they shouted; 'where is Sir Moses? how is he? when will he enter Jerusalem?' As I bent my head forward, they reverentially saluted me, and stated to me the object of their coming; but as it was my intention purposely to avoid giving any unnecessary inconvenience to my Jerusalem friends, I declined letting them know the exact hour. They again saluted, galloped off. and soon disappeared. I was told that they had

> left Jerusalem after Habdalah, and now intended being again in the Holy City early in the morning. If there be many such horsemen in the Holy Land like these two supposed Bedouins, they certainly ought not in justice to be regarded as descendants from sickly parents, as some persons supposed."

The most memorable aspect of this mission was the pains which Sir Moses took to convince himself of the desire of the Jews in Palestine to earn their living by their own hands. With his usual eye for detail he tested the people concerned in various ways. He offered a deliberately small remuneration for the filling of a cistern at his estate in Jaffa, and there was a crowd to take advantage of this opportunity for work. He personally tested eight Jewish handicraftsmen in Jerusalem, and was highly gratified with their skill. With this ocular demonstration and after consultation with those he deemed most fitted to offer him advice, he considered the object of his journey fulfilled. As a final resumé of his view on a subject to which he had devoted the main purpose of his life and which, since his days, has engrossed the attention of the Jewish world, we may set down the concluding part of his "Narrative:"

> "I feel it my pleasing duty to inform all friends of Zion that I again have had every opportunity to convince myself of the correctness of those statements which had been made in the replies I received to my inquiries on the 15th of October, 5634. The great

regard I have always entertained towards our brethren in the Holy Land has, if possible, increased, so that if you were to ask me, 'Are they worthy and deserving of assistance?' I would reply, 'Most decidedly.' 'Are they willing and capable of work?' 'Undoubtedly.' 'Are their mental powers of a satisfactory nature?' 'Certainly.' 'Ought we, as Israelites in particular, to render them support?' 'Learn', I would say, 'if your own Sacred Scriptures do not satisfy you, from non-Israelites, what degree of support those are entitled to who consecrate their lives to the worship of God. Go and cast a glance upon the numerous munificent endowments, upon the annual contributions, not only in Jerusalem, but in every part of the world—not only by individuals, but by almost every mighty ruler on earth.

"Notice the war which has broken out within our recollection respecting the privilege of repairing a house of devotion, all for the sole object of supporting religion. And are we Israelites to stand back and say, We are all practical men; let everybody in Jerusalem go and work? We do not want a set of indolent people, who, by poring over books, teaching the word of God, think they are performing their duties in life, and wait for our support! The Jews in Jerusalem, in every part of the Holy Land, I tell you, do work, are more industrious than many even in Europe; otherwise, none of them would remain alive. When there is no market for the produce of the land, when famine, cholera and other misfortunes befall the inhabitants, we Israelites, unto whom God has revealed Himself on Sinai, more than any other nation, must step forward and render them help, raise them from their state of distress'.

"If you put the question to me thus:—'Now we are willing to contribute towards a fund intended to rend-

er them such assistance as they require; we are ready to make even sacrifices of our own means, if necessary. What scheme do you propose, as best adapted to carry out the object in view?' I would reply, 'Carry out simply what they themselves have suggested; but begin in the first instance with the building of houses in Jerusalem. Select land outside the city; raise, in the form of a large square or crescent, a number of suitable houses, a college, a public bath. Let each house have in front a plot of ground large enough to cultivate olive trees, the vine, and necessary vegetables, so as to give the occupiers a taste for agriculture.'

"The houses ought to pay a moderate rental, by the amount of which, after securing the sum required for the payment of a clerk and overseer and the repair of the houses, there should be established a loan society, on safe principles, for the benefit of the poor working-class, the trader, agriculturist or any poor deserving man. Two per cent. should be charged on each loan, so as to cover thereby the expenses necessary for a special clerk and the rent of an appropriate house.

"If the amount of your funds be sufficient, build houses in Safed, Tiberias and Hebron on the same plan; establish loan societies on similar principles of security.

"And should you further prosper and have £20,000 or £50,000 to dispose of, you will without difficulty be able to purchase as much land as you would like in the vicinity of Safed, Pekiin, Tiberias, Hebron, Jerusalem, Jaffa, and Haifa, and you will find in all those places a number of persons who would be most willing to follow agricultural pursuits.

"And if you now address me saying, 'Which would be the proper time to commence work, supposing we

were ready to be guided by your counsel?' my reply would be, 'Commence at once: begin the work this day, if you can!' "[54]

It was the last mission that Sir Moses undertook for the benefit of his people, and it was the most fruitful. Immediately on his return, a Palestine Society—preliminary to the formation of a Palestine Colonization Fund—met on December 15, 1875 to devise means to put the ideas of Sir Moses into effect. On the motion of Jacob Montefiore, it was agreed that a deputation of members of the Society and their friends should wait on the Turkish Ambassador in London. This deputation, which laid the proposal of Jewish colonization in Syria and Palestine before the Ambassador, received an encouraging reply, but no further action appears to have been taken by the society in question. But, at the same time, the seed sown by Sir Moses was bearing fruit elsewhere. The ideal of the regeneration of the Jewish people in their ancestral land was taking hold of many minds, and the anti-Jewish outbreaks in Russia in 1881-2, which created a new epoch in Jewish history, gave to it an irresistible impetus. On his ninety-ninth birthday he had the gratification of being able to forward his contribution to six Jewish agricultural colonies in Palestine, Rishon le-Zion and Yahud, near Jaffa; Geoni

[54] Loewe, Diaries II, p. 262.

and Pekiin, near Safed; B'né Bilu and Samarin (Zichron Jacob), near Haifa. The first international gathering of the Chovevé Zion (Palestinophiles), which met at Kattowitz in 1884 on the occasion of his hundredth birthday, was the symbol of the fulfilment of the hopes and ideals of Sir Moses Montefiore.

XVI.

HIS LAST YEARS

During the last years of his life, Sir Moses Montefiore was still occupied with an unceasing flow of correspondence that reached him from all parts of the world and to which, so far as his declining strength would allow, he attended with meticulous personal attention and courtesy. In public affairs touching his co-religionists, such as the anti-Jewish pogroms in Russia, his indomitable spirit would flare up with the old fire, and, with an impetuosity that must have been difficult to restrain, he would attempt to right the wrong to which his people were subjected, or assist any good cause by which his generous sympathies were evoked. Thus, on the outbreak of the Russo-Turkish War in 1877, he joined the Committee of the Turkish Relief Fund that was formed in London, and, as a mark of appreciation of the friendly attitude of the Ottoman Government towards the Jews, sent to the Turkish Ambassador one cheque for £50 in his own name and another for a similar amount in memory of his wife. He likewise took an active part in furthering the Turkish Compassionate Fund promoted by Baroness Burdett-Coutts, and, on hearing from

her that a large number of Jews were affected, he sent £100 to alleviate the needs of the war sufferers without distinction of creed. He further telegraphed to her: "Should my presence in Constantinople or Adrianople be deemed in any way beneficial to the sufferers, I shall be ready to proceed there without delay." The Baroness communicated this to the press, and added the well-deserved tribute: "I cannot deny myself the pleasure of enclosing you my revered and chivalrous friend's reply, alike as characteristic of his unwearying energy of mind and warmth of heart."

He pursued the course of the subsequent peace negotiations with keen interest, so as to safeguard Jewish rights in South-Eastern Europe. He invoked the powerful influence of the famous financier Gerson von Bleichröder on the German side, while endeavoring also to enlist the aid of the British representatives in favor of his co-religionists. The success of the Berlin Treaty, however transient it may have proved subsequently owing to Roumanian prevarications, was a source of great joy to Sir Moses Montefiore.

He was always on the alert to protect Jewish interests and, with this object in view, addressed a communication to Tsar Alexander III on his accession to the throne, commending the Russian Jews to his Imperial favor.

In the famous Tisza-Eszlar ritual murder accusation in 1882, he addressed a communication to Count Tisza, the Prime Minister, as well as letters to each member of the Hungarian House of Representatives, refuting the charge.

He had even in his very old age so freely offered himself for the service of others, that is could hardly be realized that he was nearing his hundredth year.

His ninety-ninth birthday, on November 8th 1883, was made the occasion of great rejoicings. The celebrations began on October 24th, on the last day of the Tabernacle festival, when in the synagogues preachers vied in eulogies of the venerable philanthropist. Telegrams and addresses, poems, presents and flowers began to arrive at East Cliff Lodge from all parts of the world in ever-increasing and overwhelming numbers.

While being serenaded on the morning of his birthday by a party of sixty ladies and gentlemen, Sir Moses had the extreme gratification of receiving a telegram from Queen Victoria, who was then in residence at Balmoral, in the Scotch Highlands:

"I congratulate you sincerely on your entering into the hundredth year of a useful and honourable life." On having read the message, he called upon the serenaders to sing "God save the Queen".

Albert Edward, Prince of Wales, afterwards Eeward VII, for whom as for his royal mother Sir Moses entertained not only a touching loyalty but a paternal affection, also sent him cordial congratulations. Deputations from all manner of public bodies arrived in almost unceasing procession, and the town of Ramsgate, which was profusely beflagged and where the shops and schools were closed in his honor, was so overcrowded by the many thousands of visitors, who had come down by special trains run for the occasion, that a hundred extra constables had to be requisitioned. A procession, two miles in length, composed of civic dignitaries, deputations from far and near, detachments of public services, thousands of school-children, etc., took nearly an hour to pass through the grounds of East Cliff Lodge. Not only was a public banquet given to Sir Moses' friends who had come to Ramsgate, but many hundreds of the poor of all denominations were entertained to dinner by the Commemoration Committee. In the evening the town of Ramsgate and the harbor were illuminated, and large bonfires were lighted to mark so unique an event.

The City of London presented to him an address of congratulation, which was voted by the Court of Common Council and handed to him in Ramsgate by a special deputation.

But all this was eclipsed by the celebrations on his hundredth birthday, which was celebrated on October 27th, 1884, to correspond with the Hebrew date of his birth. Queen Victoria once again sent him a telegraphic message: "I wish to renew my sincere congratulations to you on this day which marks your completion of a century of loyalty and philanthropy." The principal Service was held at the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue in Bevis Marks, where Dr. Hermann Adler, representing his father as Delegate Chief Rabbi, delivered a sermon, in which he said:

> "I claim it as an event without parallel in the annals of Judaism that this same festival service is being held simultaneously, the same Psalms being sung, the same prayers being offered up, not merely in cities far off which are under the sway of our gracious Queen, but in the greater number of Hebrew congregations throughout the world. The order of service has been reproduced in almost every one of the ninety Jewish newspapers published on the globe. Information has reached me from obscure towns in Poland, in Russia and in Galicia, the names of which are not to be found in the Gazetteer, that the eighth of Heshvan is not there forgotten. Indeed, in every city and townlet in the whole world-wide Dispersion of Israel Jews meet in their synagogues and conventicles to render thanks to God for so valuable a life in the cause of His people."

Without parallel in the long annals of the Jews, or indeed of any other nation, was the universal

rejoicing that greeted the centenary of Sir Moses Montefiore. His had become a name with a magic touch, uplifting the whole race in its own self-respect and self-confidence.

A colony bearing the name of Montefiore, which had been established in Pratt county, Kansas, by refugees from lands of oppression, sent him a Hebrew address, with specimens of the produce of that settlement. But if in Western Europe and America he was blessed by the creation of institutions for the benefit of the needy, his co-religionists in the teeming ghettos of the East, who spun legends about his magic name, related affectionately the great deeds of "Reb Moisheh Mantefiore", and his portrait was given the place of honor in their homes.

In Ramsgate, his proud fellow-citizens and the dignitaries and inhabitants of the neighboring towns, once more gathered in their thousands to do honor to him. In the civic procession that took place in Ramsgate also on this occasion, one of the most interesting features was the travelling carriage in which Sir Moses rode when on his philanthropic missions in Russia and Poland, France and Italy, in the old stage-coach days. A special service in his own Synagogue, addressed by Dr. Hermann Adler and attended by many distinguished Jews from London, was among the most promi-

nent features of the local celebrations. On account of his absence from the Synagogue, some of the nearest friends of Sir Moses, including the Countess of Rosebery (Hannah de Rothschild), repaired to East Cliff Lodge, where, in his presence, Dr. Adler recited the special prayer composed by his father in honor of the occasion.

Two of the nephews of Sir Moses, Arthur Cohen (Queen's Counsel and Member of Parliament) and Joseph Sebag (afterwards Sir Joseph Sebag Montefiore), who were president and vice-president respectively of the Board of Deputies, took a leading part in the functions arranged in honor of the occasion, together with Dr. Louis Loewe, who describes the personal appearance of Sir Moses at the reception by him in the following graphic manner:

> "It is a strange and fascinating picture! There, in the right-hand corner of a large high-backed, old-fashioned chintz sofa sits a patriarchal figure supported by pillows. This impressive picture of age, tended by love and respect, is lighted from the right by a stream of sunshine, which pours through the upper panes of a large angular bay window and rests gently upon a grand head, full of character, fringed with a short, closely cut, snow-white beard. One hand of Sir Moses is thrown negligently across a tall arm of the sofa, the other rests upon the ample skirts of a purple silk dressing gown. Close to the head of the sofa stands a table covered with baskets and great bouquets of flowers. Around on the walls

> are pictures of the Queen and the Royal Family, and of scenes in the Holy Land, and a beautifully carved tablet with the inscription of the Decalogue over a standing desk, for the use of the reader when reciting the daily prayers."

In January 1884, a Sir Moses Montefiore Memorial Committee had been formed in London under the chairmanship of Sir Nathaniel M. de Rothschild (afterwards Lord Rothschild), and a public meeting was convened at the Mansion House by the Lord Mayor of London to consider the matter of commemorating in a permanent form the forthcoming centenary of Sir Moses, but, at his insistent wish, the meeting was countermanded. The greatest satisfaction afforded to him was the international Conference of the Chovevé Zion that, in honor of the occasion, met at Kattowitz, at the "Three Emperors' Corner" of Russia, Austria and Germany, in order to promote the Jewish colonization of Palestine. The centenary of Sir Moses Montefiore, the greatest of the "Lovers of Zion," gave to those assembled at that historic gathering strength and hope that grew with the progress of time.

The life that had shone so brightly for over a century was closed at four o'clock on Tuesday afternoon, July 28th (16th Ab), 1885.

The fates had been kind to him. Until the end he was mentally alert and full of quick

sympathies as of yore; bodily, he carried himself well, and continued his interest in the undertakings and institutions with which he was connected. In spite of the weight of his years, his giant strength had not given out, and, like Moses ben Amram, "his eyes were not dim nor his natural force abated."

And when he passed away, "the children of Israel wept for Moses", to adapt again the words of the ancient narrative concerning the great Lawgiver to the Moses of the latter days, who also "had gone out unto his brethren and looked on their burdensome labour."

On the eve of the Sabbath, July 31st, attended by deputations and representatives of numerous public bodies, his body, wrapped in the Talith (prayer-scarf) in which he had been married and sprinkled with earth he had brought from the Holy Land, was laid to its eternal rest in the Mausoleum that he had built near his Synagogue in Ramsgate to hold the mortal remains of his wife, from whom even in death he was not divided.

The mourning of his people was echoed by the great world outside. As did the joyous occasion of his hundredth birthday, so the passing of the patriarchal Hebrew evoked tributes of universal respect. In the City of London, with which Sir Moses had been intimately associated and which had so nobly seconded his humani-

tarian efforts, the Lord Mayor, at a meeting of the Common Council held on the day after his death, reported the fact that "the most distinguished citizen of London" had been called away, and the Chief Commissioner moved, "That this Court sincerely joins in the national sympathy evoked by the decease of their distinguished fellow-citizen, Sir Moses Montefiore, Bart., ex-sheriff, who, after an exceptionally long and useful life, had passed peacefully to his rest, full of days and of honour, and leaving behind him a memory which will be long cherished in many lands."[55]

[55] Ibid., II, p. 343.

XVII

THE MAN

It was a life full of noble purpose and rich in achievement that Sir Moses Montefiore left behind him. It was an inspiring life, inspired, too, by some good genius that seemed to have guided his footsteps. He has already passed into history, but it may be said that in his long and varied record it seems almost impossible to find a serious blemish of any kind. He was one of those who, in the ancient biblical phrase, found favor in the eyes of God and man. He was certainly one of the rare Jews who had a just measure in their Jewish and general sympathies and actions.

He was a devout Jew, with a devotion to his faith and his people that increased in intensity with the length of years. He was not only strictly conforming in his religious observances, but took keen delight in the practices of Judaism. He would intone the Services and, in his sonorous voice, chant its hymns in the Bevis Marks melodies with a fervor that even on his travels took no account of his non-Jewish surroundings. To avoid riding on the Sabbath day, he would walk three to four miles from his residence at Grosvenor Gate, near Hyde Park,

in the West of London, to attend the Bevis Marks Synagogue, in the East side of the City. He was one of the active "brothers" of the Society of Lavadores, connected with that Synagogue, who performed the last rites for its members. He never missed the hallowing of the Sabbath eve by the kindling of lights, whether in England or on a journey by land or sea; at public functions, whether at civic banquets in London or at ceremonious receptions abroad, he rigorously abstained from food forbidden to Jews and would content himself with the meagre fare that he considered would satisfy social obligations. On his travels he had with him his Jewish cook and kitchen utensils, and his meat was especially prepared for him by a Shohet, Mr. Tarachi, a companion on most of his journeys in the East, who acted as Sir Moses' chef and, with a knowledge of local languages, also proved helpful as a courier, etc. Sir Moses would in a general way not only carry out obligatory Jewish ceremonial, but had the appointed Services read with a minyan (the religious quorum of ten adults) if only a sufficient number of co-religionists could be brought together at the time. He made a practice of having from time to time Sepharim (Scrolls of the Pentateuch) written for him by famous Sopherim (scribes), particularly by R. Zebi Hirsh Wolosin, of Vilna, who, by 1875,

had written 22 Sepharim for Sir Moses for presentation by him to various Synagogues, etc. Sir Moses always carried a Scroll of the Law with him on his journeys abroad. On the eve and during the progress of his missions he was wont to note down in his prayer book pious meditations on the purpose on which he was bent.

There was not wanting in Sir Moses that sentimentality which marked the Victorian period of England, and which, in his case, manifested itself also in various Jewish phases. His attachment to the Holy Land induced him to put on for the Sabbath-day a ring engraved with the word "Jerusalem", and to keep under his pillow a stone from Jerusalem bearing the inscription: "For thy servants take pleasure in her stones and favour the dust thereof" (Ps. cii, 17). He would take a special delight in the lamp he lit on the Sabbath eve, and, lying on his couch, was wont to watch intently the reflection of the light in the mirrors surrounding him. In his Passover prayer-book he reproduced an extract from his wife's "Journal", under date of November 26, 1827, dealing with an incident while on the sea during a storm, when he threw into the water a piece of Matsah, "whereupon the stormy sea became tranquil", and he gave thanks to God for his preservation.

In his staunch faith, he firmly opposed, in the

forties, the religious Reform Movement in England, and, as president of the Jewish Board of Deputies, then consisting exclusively of Orthodox constituencies, it fell to him to exercise the ungrateful task of refusing official recognition to the first Reform Synagogue in that country. But though that schism created a bitter division between him and his closest friends and relatives, because he firmly chose to walk in the old paths, yet, in practical life, he stood above all sections of Jewry whenever the test came. It is only necessary to read his sympathetic references to the religious services of his Ashkenazi co-religionists—in the Beth Hamedrash or in the Hassidic "stiebel" in Palestine or in Russia—to realize his high-minded sympathies with all forms of Judaism.

He was one of those who take infinite pains to do the right thing at the proper time. With all his preoccupations he was not above remembering some humble acquaintance by a gift made doubly welcome through the manner of its giving, or by a congratulation or condolence enhanced by its gracious, old-world form of expression. His Purim present to the children of the Spanish and Portuguese congregational schools in London—consisting of new silver coins—was made notable by its ceremonious distribution, and his periodical appearance among the children of those schools remained

a fragrant memory to the generation after him. His practice of benefiting Jewish and other charities by donations of as many pounds as were equivalent to his age or to that of his wife (if she had still been living) was a characteristic trait of his. Whenever there was a public appeal which responded to his sympathies, he had the happy knack of conveying his contribution with words of recognition and encouragement. He was not only charitable in the conventional sense but would perform many kindly acts in consideration of a service rendered or in the desire to be remembered. Many of the families with whom he came into friendly relations still keep among their cherished heirlooms notes written, or, later on, signed by him, in his large flowing style, while little personal attentions, such as concert-tickets or birthday gifts, denoted a mind attuned to a high sense of social obligation. In many cases he had made it a standing practice to make telegraphic inquiries, with his best wishes, after the fast on the Day of Atonement. His Will, which he had drawn up in 1864, showed his thoughtfulness for almost every member of his very large family and for the many friends and public officers who had been associated with him. Men like Dr. Louis Loewe, his faithful Secretary and the principal of his College, or Solomon Almosnino, the

devoted Secretary of the Bevis Marks Congregation, found in him a patron whom they delighted to serve.[56] He was on terms of close friendship with the Ashkenazi Chief Rabbis, Nathan Marcus Adler and his son Hermann, while David Aaron de Sola, the scholarly Hazan of the Bevis Marks Synagogue, found in Sir Moses a munificent supporter in his translation of the Prayer Book and in other literary undertakings.

He had indeed a genius for keeping friends. Nothing could exceed the warmth in which, in his Diaries, he refers to the illness or death of those who had earned his gratitude or respect. The death of Dr. Hodgkin, who had been his medical attendant for forty years,and who passed away while on a visit with Sir Moses to the Holy Land, is repeatedly referred to by Sir Moses in touching terms even in his official report to the Board of Deputies. In Ramsgate, where he played the rôle of Lord Bountiful, he was regarded by his fellow-townsmen with pride and affection, and on his carriage-drives, or while being carried on the Sabbath-Day to and from his Synagogue in a sedan chair by uniformed attendants, he was the object of res-

[56] As marks of personal attention he had painted the portraits of Dr. Loewe and Solomon Almosnino that are now hung in the Ramsgate College and in the Vestry Room at Bevis Marks respectively.

pectful attention on the part of passers-by.

In some aspects he appears to have suffered from the defects of his qualities. He was intensely in earnest, and, though he evidenced high spirits in his social intercourse, he did not seem possessed of that sparkling wit which the Germans call "geistreich" and the French "spirituel". We find in him a comparative absence of that artistic appreciation which distinguished some of his relatives among the Rothschilds, although he took a leading part in the great International Exhibition of 1851 as chairman of its Fine Arts section.

He was a courtly figure and of impressive mien. Of tall build (he was six-foot-three and broad of frame), he was one of those who, like Saul, king of Israel, towered above the crowd by his commanding presence; he also had the personal dignity which the Sephardim had inherited from Castile and Andalusia and which they retained throughout as a characteristic of their own. He was a Captain in the Surrey local militia from 1810 to 1814, at the time of the threatened invasion of Napoleon I, and he retained through life a certain military stateliness of bearing. He was responsive to the attentions of those about him, and would not disguise his gratification on such occasions. He was extraordinarily punctilious, and nothing except complete physical disability, would pre-

vent his paying the homage and respect he considered due to others. On returning from his missions, he would proceed almost directly to the Foreign Office and to those who had assisted him in his task in order to convey to them personally, at the earliest possible moment, the results of his undertaking. On his last visit to Jerusalem, he repeatedly declined the honor of a call from the Pasha because he himself was not in a condition to pay the courtesy of a first call on that dignitary.

His was indeed a wide range of life. He had audiences of Queen Victoria of England, and Queen Isabella of Spain, Louis Philippe and Napoleon III, Nicholas I and Alexander II of Russia, Frederick William of Prussia, Sultans Abdul Medjid and Abdul Aziz of Turkey, the Sultan of Morocco, the Shah of Persia, the Khedive of Egypt, the Prince of Roumania. Most of those interviews were dramatic in their effect and could well form the subject of an historic picture. He enjoyed the esteem of eminnent statesmen, of the Duke of Wellington, Lord Aberdeen, Sir Robert Peel, Lord John Russell, Lord Palmerston, Lord Clarendon, and of Benjamin Disraeli (Lord Beaconsfield) who, like himself, was a descendant of ItalianJews and came of the congregation at Bevis Marks.[57]

[57] "Through the Mocattas a slight relationship is established between Sir Moses Montefiore and the late

When Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Salisbury came back triumphant from the Berlin Congress of 1878, where they had succeeded in safeguarding the rights of the Jews in the Balkan States, Sir Moses made a special journey to London, and was the first to greet them on their arrival at the Charing Cross Station. At the centenary dinner given in honor of Sir Moses, Sir Edward Watkin, M. P., stated that "never would he forget the historical scene when Lord Beaconsfield was welcomed from Berlin, and was embraced by the venerable Baronet. He saw well that nothing so deeply moved Lord Beaconsfield as that embrace, and the tears rolled down his cheeks as he acknowledged Sir Moses's greeting." Thiers and Guizot, Gortchacoff and Bismarck had been moved by him to act on behalf of his people. Baron Brunnow, the Russian Ambassador in London, was at all times disposed to serve the objects Sir Moses had in view, and gave him invaluable help in the delicate tasks that Sir Moses had set himself in his relations with the rulers of Russia.

Earl of Beaconsfield. The mother of the Earl, *née* Sarah Basevi, was sister-in-law to Sir Moses Montefiore's uncle, Moses Mocatta, and also to Ephraim Lindo, whose brother, David Abarbanel Lindo, was Sir Moses' uncle by marriage with Abraham Mocatta's daughter Sarah". Wolf, op. cit., pp. 12, 13.

Withal, he was a proud man and would not shrink from administering a rebuke to those who, though powerful to grant or refuse his requests, questioned the honor of his people. To Cardinal Antonelli, who asked how much of Rothschild's millions had been paid to turn the scales in favor of the Jews in the Damascus affair, he replied with an impatient rebuke: "Not so much as I paid your lackey for hanging up my cloak in your hall."

A remarkable feature in the social relations of Sir Moses was his friendship with Christian ecclesiastics. In Ramsgate, the local Christian clergymen were always sure of meeting with his generous support in any charitable effort for which they choose to appeal to him. In his donations for the relief of the Ramsgate poor, he made it a practice to place for this purpose certain sums at the disposal of the Ministers of the various churches in the district. He was on terms of cordiality with Dr. Tait, the Archbishop of Canterbury, whose residence near Ramsgate gave Sir Moses various opportunities for neighborly courtesies. In 1874 and 1875, he had executed for the St. Peter's Orphan and Convalescent Home, established by them, busts of the Archbishop and Mrs. Tait, gifts which were accepted with profuse expressions of gratitude. Sir Moses likewise entertained sentiments of warm regard for Dean

Stanley, the sympathetic and liberal-minded author of the "History of the Jewish Church".

The feeling that Sir Moses inspired in the minds of Christians of the highest type, men differing from him profoundly in religious matters, is illustrated by the attitude towards him of the (seventh) Earl of Shaftesbury, one of the great philanthropists of Christian England and a man of deep Christian feeling, who was not only a fervent advocate of the Jewish restoration to Palestine, but unconsciously recognized an affinity between himself and the Hebrew patriarch he admired. It was the desire of Lord Shaftesbury that Sir Moses should be elevated to the peerage, and he conveyed this in the following letter to Mr. W. E. Gladstone, the then Prime Minister:

December 22, 1868.

"Dear Gladstone:—

"The new arrangements you have made in respect of certain young peers in the House of Lords will prove, I doubt not, very beneficial.

"But I have an impulse, which I cannot restrain, an impulse both from opinion and feeling, to suggest another movement, and I make it far less on the presumption of tendering advice than of disburdening myself of a strong desire. The Jewish question has now been settled. The Jews can sit in both Houses of Parliament. I myself resisted their admission, not because I was adverse to the descendants of Abraham, of whom our blessed Lord came according to the flesh, very far from it, but because I objected

to the mode in which that admission was to be effected.

"All that is passed away, and let us now avail ourselves of the opportunity to show regard to God's ancient people.

"There is a noble member of the house of Israel, Sir Moses Montefiore, a man dignified by patriotism, charity and self-sacrifice, on whom her Majesty might graciously bestow the honour of the Peerage.

"It would be a glorious day for the House of Lords when that grand old Hebrew were enrolled on the lists of the hereditary legislators of England.

"Truly yours,

"Shaftesbury."

Lord Shaftesbury had previously proffered the suggestion to Benjamin Disraeli, who was the Prime Minister before Gladstone, but, although expressing his approval, Disraeli stated that, for obvious reasons, he was not in a position to raise the first Jew to the peerage.

On one occasion, when Sir Moses forwarded to Lord Shaftesbury £98 to be used for the Field Lane Ragged School or for any other purpose he might think fit (the amount being sent on the day that his wife would, had she lived, have attained her 98th birthday), Lord Shaftesbury exclaimed on meeting Dr. Hermann Adler:

"Your great Judas Maccabæus has just sent me £98 for my Ragged School!" An appreciative letter that Sir Moses wrote with his own hand to Lord Shaftesbury in July 1884, with a

cheque to provide the children in the Ragged Schools with a day's outing in the country, was forwarded by Lord Shaftesbury to the Secretary of the Ragged Schools Union with the following note: "You may keep the letter as a record of a man in his hundredth year, who can feel and write like one of five-and-twenty. Do not suppose that I have omitted to thank him. That grand old Hebrew is better than many Christians."[58] The Queen of England retained for him to his last days a high regard. The following telegram she sent him from Osborne on the 8th January 1885 reveals in its concluding words the personal touch unusual in such royal acknowledgments: "Accept my best thanks for your kind wishes for this day and for my dear daughter's betrothal; trust you are well."

A notable visitor to Sir Moses Montefiore was the Orientalist Professor Max Müller, who came to Ramsgate with his wife during the Tabernacle holydays of 1871, and dined in the spacious booth at East Cliff Lodge. In the course of the conversation Prof. Max Müller was moved to the following observation:

"When I was sitting in the Palace, at the table with the Emperor of Germany, my mind was engrossed with the idea that I was in the presence of the Emperor Charlemagne. Now, sitting in the tabernacle at the table with Sir

[58] Loewe, Diaries, II, pp. 224–6.

Moses Montefiore, I can fancy myself in the presence of the Patriarch Abraham, sitting in his tent, where his hospitality was accepted by angels and gladdened the heart of all comers."[59]

The verdict of posterity on the life and labors of Sir Moses Montefiore has confirmed the judgment of his contemporaries. He had no children, but his memory has remained as a blessing to his people. He left in trusty hands a richly endowed Synagogue and College in Ramsgate, and the Jewish poor in Palestine became part heirs to his estate[60]. Far beyond the

[59] Ibid, p. 240.

[60] Sir Moses Montefiore's Will, which was proved at £370,000, begins thus:—

"This is the last Will of me, Sir Moses Montefiore, of Grosvenor Gate, Park Lane, in the county of Middlesex, and of East Cliff Lodge, Ramsgate, in the Isle of Thanet, in the county of Kent, Baronet, F. R. S., son of Joseph and Rachel Montefiore, of happy memory, and for more than fifty years the happy husband of my deeply lamented Judith, daughter of the revered Levy Barent Cohen and Lydia, his wife, deceased. I desire, in the first place, gratefully to acknowledge the goodness of Almighty God, the Lord of all beings, for the abundance with which he has blessed me, and for having allowed me the enjoyment of it for so many years. When it may please him to call me away from this world to eternal life, may our Heavenly Father pardon all my sins, and have mercy on my soul, and may those persons whom I may in any way have offended forgive me. I desire that my remains may rest by the side of those of my beloved wife in the mausoleum near our Synagogue at Hereson (Ramsgate) and that my

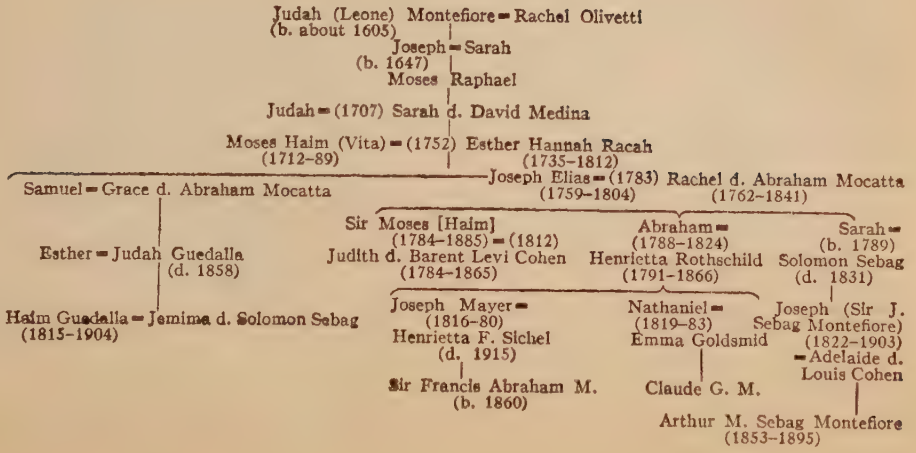
material value of his pious foundations is, however, the place of honor that he has found in the long annals of his ancient race. His princely figure stands out luminously in the history of the Jews of the nineteenth century, a beacon to all who would walk in the way of Jewish immortality.

funeral may be as private as may be, and without carriages to follow."

His executors were:—Sir Nathaniel Mayer de Rothschild (Lord Rothschild), his nephews, Arthur Benjamin Cohen and Joseph Sebag, and Dr. Louis Loewe.

His chief public bequests were the endowment for the maintenance of the Synagogue and College in Ramsgate, the income of which, before the Great War, was about £4,000 per annum; a Trust Fund for distribution among the Jewish poor in Jerusalem, Safed, Hebron and Tiberias, with an income of about £1,250 per annum; and a Fund for the distribution of coals and blankets among the Jewish poor in London (divided equally between the Sephardi and Ashkenazi communities, but with double portions to those recipients who had married into the other section) amounting to about £650 per annum.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE



BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MONTEFIORIANA

I Books and Pamphlets
  a. B.M.—British Museum.
  b. V.S— „ „ in Van Straalen's Catalogue and in the Accessions (Hebrew).

II MSS. in the Montefiore Library.
  Montefiore MSS. in Descriptive Catalogue of the Hebrew MSS. of the Montefiore Library, compiled by Hartwig Hirschfeld, Ph.D., London, 1904. (With the exception of about sixty MSS. retained at the Ramsgate College, the bulk of the Montefiore Library MSS. is at Jews' College, London).

III Special Prayers and Orders of Service.

IV Montefioriana in Catalogue of Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition, Royal Albert Hall, London, 1887.

I. BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

AUERBACH (Meyer ben Isaac) and SALANT (Samuel). מכתב גלוי וכ"י. An open letter addressed to Sir M. Montefiore...On the day of his arrival in...Jerusalem (in answer to an unfavourable account of the state of the Jews in Jerusalem)...Translated from the original Hebrew (Hebr. & Engl.). Together with a Narrative of a Forty Days' Sojourn in the Holy Land...by Sir M. Montefiore. London, 1875. B. M. 4034, dd. 23.

ספור משה וירושלים (A Hebrew version by Asher Amshiewitz of the "Narrative"), Warsaw, 1876. Hebrew. V.S.

ספור משה וירושלים (A Yiddish version (anon.) of the "Narrative"), pp. 83. Warsaw, 1881. Yiddish. V.S.

AMSHIEWITZ (ASHER). שם עולם כולל חירות היהודים ישבי מאראקה ע"י השר משה מאנטעפיאר. Warsaw, 1884. V.S.

Belais (Dr. Abraham). (A Judge in Israel; ex-Treasurer of the Bey of Tunis, Chief Rabbi of Nice). A New Poem in honour of the pious respected Chief of the Thousands in Israel, Sir Moses Montefiore, and his worthy consort, the much respected Lady Montefiore...when he went before Kings, and obtained deliverance of his brethren. London. (Hebrew & English).

Do. A poem in honour of the joyful event of Sir Moses' and his lady's safe return to London. (Hebrew & English).

Do. Thanksgiving and Praise for the success and honour he received by the Monarchs, and his safe return to his home in peace. (Hebrew & English).

Cohen (J. Barrett). Judaism and the typical Jew. An address delivered before the Jews of Charleston, S.C., on the celebration of the centennial anniversary of the birthday of Sir Moses Montefiore at the Hasel Street Synagogue, October 26th, 1884. Charleston, 1884. B.M. 4034, h. 43.(8.)

David (Julius). Zwei Reden. 1....2. Zu Sir M. Montefiore's hundertstem (or rather, his 99th) Geburtstag, etc. Pressburg, 1883. B.M. 4034. h.43. (6.)

Davis (Israel). Articles on "Sir Moses Montefiore," in "Encyclopœdia Britannica" and "Jewish Encyclopedia."

Delaville (Abraham Ben Daniel). Tehillah le-Mosheh. A poem eulogising Sir M.M. Amsterdam, 1841. Hebrew. V.S.

Deputies of British Jews, London Committee of, Extracts from Letters, etc., received from Sir Moses Montefiore, F.R.S. Printed by direction of "The London Committee of Deputies of the British Jews." London, 1840. B.M. 1112. i. 33.

Report of Sir M. M., Bart., on his Mission to the Holy Land. London, 5626—1866.

Do. Translation of a letter addressed by Sir Moses Montefiore, F.R.S., to the Jewish Congregations in the Holy Land on the promotion of agriculture and industrial

pursuits in that country, and of the replies received thereto. London, 1874.

ELIASSOF (HERMAN). Souvenir of the centennial anniversary of the birthday of Sir Moses Montefiore, etc. Chicago, 1884. B.M. 10803. c. 5. (3.)

FALK (OSIAS). מזכרת משה וירושלים. Andenken an Moses und Jerusalem. I. Ueber das Leben, die Tugend und Ehre des Sir Moses Montefiore, etc., Czernowitz, 1884. Hebrew, V.S.

GAWLER (COL. JOHN C.) (Keeper of the Crown Jewels, Tower of London). Letter dated June 10th, 1874, to Sir Moses Montefiore, Bart., F.R.S., on the object of the promotion of Agriculture in the Holy Land and the industrial occupation of its inhabitants. London, 1874.

GELBERG (HIRSCH). שר מאה שנה Hundertjähriger Sir! Biographische Skizze Seiner Hochwohlgeboren...Sir Moses Montefiore...In siebzehn Gesängen. Lemberg, 1884. Hebrew. V.S.

GOLDSZMIT (JOSEF). Wizerunki wslawionych Żydówskiego wieku. Warzawa, 1867, etc. B.M. 105602. d.

GORDON (DAVID). משה וירושלים Hebrew translation of Sir M. M.'s Report to the Board of Deputies on his visit to Palestine in 1866. Lyck, 1867.

GUEDALLA (H) Refutation of an anonymous article in the "Jewish World", entitled "Secret History of Sir M. Montefiore's Mission to Morocco in 1863–4." London 1880.

DO. Some account of the two journeys to Russia undertaken by Sir Moses Montefiore, Bart., in 1846 and 1872 to further the interests of the Russian Jews. London, 1882.

DO. The Montefiore Centenary: Some account of the doings at Bevis Marks Synagogue, London, East Cliff Lodge, Ramsgate, and the Guedalla College, Jerusalem. London, 1885.

GUEDALLA, MRS. H. [JEMIMA]. Diary of a Tour to

Jerusalem and Alexandria in 1855 with Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore, by the late Mrs. H. Guedalla. London, 1890.

G[UEDALLA], J[EMIMA]. Sir Moses Montefiore, Bart., F.R.S., and his many efforts for the relief of Suffering Humanity. London, 1864.

J.(M.D.) ספר תולדות מאנטעפיורי. (A biography in Yiddish of Sir M. M.) Vilna, 1883. Yiddish V.S.

KLINGER (ISAIAH REUBEN). כליל תפארת משה. An account of Sir M. M.'s visit to Jerusalem. Königsberg, 1877.

LEVIN (W.) Moses Montefiore. Rede zu dessen hundertjähriger Geburtsfeier, etc. Berlin, 1885. B.M. 10803. bb. 2.(6.)

LIEBERMANN, Internationale: Montefiore-Album. 1884.

LOEWE (LOUIS). Diaries of Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore, comprising their life and work as recorded in their diaries. With illustrations. 2 vols. London, 1890. B.M. 2407. g.l.

A Hebrew version of the "Diaries", by J. H. Tevyov. 2 vols. Warsaw, 1898–99. Another edition, Warsaw, 1898.

A Sermon preached in the Great Synagogue of Vilna, 5606, (with a poem by Samuel Joseph Finn). Vilna, 1847.

Do. An address delivered on the occasion of Sir Moses Montefiore, Bart., F.R.S., completing his hundredth year....in the Judith, Lady Montefiore's Theological College, Ramsgate. London. 1884.

Do. Sermon prononcé a l'occasion du centenaire de Sir Moses Montefiore, Bart., etc., par Dr. L. Loewe. Traduit de l'anglais par Mme. P. Pereyra, née Bloch, Paris, 1885.

Do. An address delivered at the Memorial Service held on the expiration of the thirty days of mourning for the late venerable and much lamented Sir Moses Montefiore, Bart., F.R.S., Sunday, 19th Elul 5645 A.M., 30th Augus , 1885, in Judith, Lady Montefiore's Theological College, Ramsgate. London. 1885.

MARCUS (ALFRED A). Sacred Memorial Services, in memory of...Sir Moses Montefiore...held in Boston, at the Church Street Synagogue, etc. New York, 5645. B.M. 10803. cc.4 (2.)

MOHR (ABRAHAM MENAHEM MENDEL), of Lemberg, כתר שם טוב giving an account of his visit to Russia (particularly in Vilna, etc.). 1846.

NARRATIVE of a Forty Days' Sojourn in the Holy Land by Sir M. M., London, 1875.

NOTES from a Journal of a visit to Egypt and Palestine by way of Italy and the Mediterranean (by Judith, Lady Montefiore). Published anonymously for private circulation. London, 1st ed. 1844; 2nd ed. 1885.

RACAH (LEONE). Sir Moses Montefiore, Biografia di un centenario. Livorno, P. Vannini e fo. 1883.

RAUSUK (REV. SAMSON). Poem commemorative of the successful Mission of Sir Moses Montefiore, Bart., to the Court of Morocco. Composed on his safe return April 7th 5624–1864, by the Librarian of Hebrew College. Kindly paraphrased by Sampson Samuel, Esq. London.

DO. The Voice of Joy and Salvation. An Ode written to commemorate the providential success which attended Israel's illustrious champion Sir Moses Montefiore, Bart., F.R.S., on the occasion of his Mission to Roumania (on which he was accompanied by Dr. Loewe, and other friends) for the defence and rescue of our brethren. Elul 5627. By the Librarian to the Beth Hamedrash of London. Paraphrased by Michael Henry. London.

SPIERS (B.). The Centenary of Sir Moses Montefiore, Sermon delivered at the New Synagogue, London, 5645.

TRAVELLER, THE. An account of the festival days, celebrated by the Jews of Vilna about the news of the arrival of Sir Moses Montefiore, Baronet, and his consort Lady Judith Montefiore. By...Vilna. 1846 Hebrew. V.S.

TREVES (SABBATO GRAZIODIO). Nell' occasione in cui

Sir M. Montefiore...visitava il maggiore Oratorio Israelitico di Trieste...S. G. Treves pronunciava il seguente discorso, etc. Trieste, 1855. B.M. 4033. aa. 51. (9.)

TUGENDHOLD, (W.). Der Willkommen dem Sir Moses Montefiore und seiner hochverehrten Gemahlin Lady Judith geb. Cohen, von einem Chor jüdischer Mädchen in Wilna, verfasst vom Censor der Hebräischen Literatur, dem Ehrenbürger....Wilna, 1846.

WERTHEIMER (SOLOMON AARON). ספר אבל משה (Elegy on Sir M. M.) Jerusalem, 1885. Hebrew. V. S.

WESTON (JAMES), pseud. (i. e. EDWARD STEP). Sir Moses Montefiore; the story of his life, pp. 96. London, (1885). B. M. 10827. aaa. 11.

WOLF (LUCIEN). Sir Moses Montefiore. A centennial Biography, with extracts from letters and journals. London, 1884.

Do. *ed.* Lady Montefiore's Honeymoon. An unpublished Diary, London, 1902.

Do. Sir Moses Montefiore. A centennial Biography. A paper read...1888. Reprinted from "The Jewish Chronicle". London, 1888. B. M. 4515. ff. 4. (4)

WOOLMER (CHARLES EDWARD SHIRLEY). The judgement of Christians, Jews and Heathen. A sermon (on Matth. xxv. 31–32) preached...after the death of Sir M. Montefiore. London, Ramsgate, printed, 1885. B. M. 4804. aaa. 14. (5.)

THE SIR MOSES MONTEFIORE celebrations at Ramsgate on the ninety-ninth anniversary of his birthday. London, 1883.

REPORTS TO THE ELDERS of the proceedings in the Spanish & Portuguese Jews' Congregation on the occasion of the Centenary of Sir Moses Montefiore, Bart. London, 1884.

THE CENTENARY OF SIR M. M., BART., 8th Heshvan 5645—25th October 1884. Dinners to the Poor. London, 1885.

II. MONTEFIORE MSS.

59. Writings of Joseph b. Jacob Montefiore of Pesaro, in Ancona, son-in-law of Isaac al Qustantin. (The Author is described as Joseph, the son of the aged and learned Jacob Montefiore, of Pesaro [who died at the age of 83[, a resident of Ancona).

in Ancona, son-in-law of Isaac al Qustantin.

1. גן פרחים. The work is preceded by various הסכמות in prose and poetry, by Isaiah Romini of Pesaro, Jehiel ha-Kohen of Ancona, Jacob Israel of Pesaro. Then follows a series of prayers, the last of which is one of thanksgiving for having been delivered from a plot made against him on the 21st Kislev, 5499 (1738). The treatise itself is styled דרושי מסרות and contains Agadic Glosses on the fifty-three portions (נ"ן) of the Pentateuch. Fol. 66, a prayer; fol. 70, prayer by Solomon Al Qabis.

2. Fol. 71. דברי הימים History of the author's family, concluding with a sonnet and more prayers.

3. Fol. 101. ספר קן צפור A work similar to No. 1 on the Psalms. The preface is preceded by the original armorial bearings of the Montefiore family surrounded by three mottoes taken from the Bible. Fol. 331, a copy of Isaiah Romini's Haskama. The MS. is the author's autograph, No. 1 and 2 being written 1741, No. 3 in 1745. A description of the Codex is given in Dr. L. Loewe's Diaries of Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore, I, pp. 6-8.

307. The three last dialogues of David Nieto's מטה דן, translated into English by E. H. Lindo (the translation of Dialogues I and II, by Dr. L. Loewe, was published in 1853). Appended is a dedicatory poem to Sir Moses Montefiore, dated April 20, 5616 (1856).

310. ספר מועדי שחר Hebrew translation of Moses Mendelssohn's "Morgenstunden", by Josef Herzberg, of Mohilew, with dedicatory letter to Sir Moses Montefiore, dated February 25, 1843.

356. Cabbalistic notes and observations by Nathan Aryeh b. David Zimmer, dedicated to Sir Moses Montefiore at the completion of his centenary (1885).

390. Poem dedicated to Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore, headed שיר תהלה לשרי מעלה by Josef Joel Rivlin, accompanied by an autograph letter from the author. The poem is an acrostic on the names משה ויהודית מונטפיור.

391. שיר תהלה ודרוש ענות צדק Address and poem in memory of Sir Moses Montefiore's journeys to the East. by Judah b. David b. Aaron hal-Levi, called Leib Laser in Przemysl (Galicia), 1865.

392. כליל תפארת containing two poetic addresses to Sir Moses Montefiore; a. מעטה תהלה by Isaac Aryeh Leb Gelberg (father), of Kamianka, in Galicia; b. (fol. 11) צבי לצדיק by Zebi Hirsh Gelberg (son), 7 Kislev, 5630 (1870).

393. שיר הודה Poem in honor of Sir Moses Montefiore, composed by Mendel Lindo, and presented by the members of the congregation of Keidani and environs, 14 Iyyar, 5606 (1846). Pasted on fly-leaf, מנחת מרחשת poem by Solomon Salmon b. Judah Leb in Vilna.

394. Poem presented to Sir Moses Montefiore, by the חברה קדישא ובקור חולים in Praga (May 19, 1846).

395. תוכן עלילה Poetic account of the Damascus blood accusation, composed by Elijah Mordecai Werbel, Professor of Hebrew in Odessa, for the hundredth anniversary of Sir Moses Montefiore's birthday,

and presented by the son of the author. On the fly-leaf, German title.

396. שיר ותפלה Poem and prayer in celebration of Sir Moses Montefiore's return from Russia, by Abraham (autograph).

398. שיר תהלה Poem in honor of Sir Moses Montefiore's visit to Jerusalem in the year 1875, by Israel Simmon Schajin. Many letters gilt, and the pages with colored borders.

399. שיח יצחק ומשאת בנימין Poem celebrating the return of Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore from Damascus, by Isaac Benjamin Wolf Olschwanger, in Tauroggen, 1846.

400. כנף רנים Poems by Jacob Hallevi Sappir, in Jerusalem, in honor of Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore.

401. שיר למעלות משה מאנטיפיורא Poem, accompanied by an English letter, and the pen and ink etching of a tree, by Moses Sachs of Meiningen, in Jerusalem.

402. אנלי דמעות Elegy on the death of Lady Montefiore by Yomtob Spitz, in Prague.

403. למנצח על השמנית Poem by Aaron Masliah b. Jeremiah Romanini, in honor of Sir Moses Montefiore, 1857.

513. Memorandum in connexion with "The Establishment of Jewish Colonies in Palestine, by Lieutenant-Colonel Gawler," presented to the Earl of Aberdeen, with the pamphlet, on the 26th June, 1845.

515. גמילות חסד Statutes of the society גמילות חסד in Jerusalem, 1870. Dedicated to Sir Moses Montefiore on the occasion of his seventh visit to the Holy City.

518. מנחת יהודה Casuistic treatise in forty-three chapters, with references to Sir Moses Montefiore, Adolph Crémieux and the Rothschild family, by Solomon Hayy Al Qal'i (אל קלעי), Reader in Semlin.

520. Collectanea.

1. Glory to Moses, or "Tablet of Testimony."
2. Fol. 12. Translation of the Hebrew Tablet in the Soldiers' Synagogue at St. Petersburg, by Jonas Gurland.
3. Fol. 21. מנחת תודה Poem by Meir Rabbinowicz in Suez, in honor of Sir Moses Montefiore.
4. Fol. 31. קול רנה Poem by Meir Jacob Margoliouth, in honor of Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore.
6. Fol. 37. שמש צדקה An account of Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore's last visit to Damascus and the Holy Land, by Jacob Hallevi Sappir in Jerusalem, 1849.

   ניא חזיון by Jacob Sappir Hallevi, Jerusalem, 1855. Pamphlet, with dedication by the author to Sir Moses Montefiore.
8. Fol. 56. Hebrew prayer with interlinear English translation, before undertaking a journey to the Holy Land.
9. Fol. 60. Frühlings-Gedicht, by L. B. Germaise, in honor of Sir Moses Montefiore; written in Vilna, 1846.
11. Fol. 75. מנחת מזכרת עני Hebrew poem by Josef Kohen Büchner, presented to Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore for the New Year, 5618.
14. Fol. 96. Italian sonnet by B. P. Sanguinetti, addressed to Sir Moses Montefiore.
16. Fol. 110. שיר ותהלה. Hebrew address composed by Abraham Baruch Piperno, on behalf of the Jewish Corporation of Leghorn, to celebrate the deliverance of the Jews in Damascus and Rhodes, and presented to Sir Moses Montefiore. At the end mention is made of Crémieux, Dr. Loewe and Dr. S. Munk.

521. שיר זמרה Poem sent to Sir Moses Montefiore, together with the third scroll of the Pentateuch, written for him by Zebi Hirsh, in Vilna, 1845.

522. שירה Poem in honor of Lady Montefiore, by Abraham Baruch Piperno, Leghorn, 1825.

523. משאת משה Prayer recited and sermon delivered in the Synagogue תפארת ישראל in Jerusalem, in honor of Sir Moses Montefiore and Dr. L. Loewe, by Elijah Sarasohn, 11th Marheshwan, 5635 (1875).

524. תהלה לכשה Poem in honor of Sir Moses Montefiore's seventh journey to Jerusalem at the age of ninety-one, Sunday, 1st Tammuz, 5635 (1875), by Abraham M. Luncz. Richly illuminated. There is also an English title and preface.

525. ספר דרכיו לכשה Lecture delivered in Smyrna, in celebration of Sir Moses Montefiore's visit by Hayyim פאלאצי on Friday, 2nd Kislev, 5601 (1841).

526. מנחת תורה Lecture in honor of Sir Moses Montefiore, by Solomon Salmon Wolf b. Ezekiel Feiwel in Vilna.

527. העתק פנקס של החברה לינת צדק Pamphlet containing the laws of the society לינת צדק in Jerusalem, list of the members and the committee for 1875, a dedication to Sir Moses Montefiore and a prayer for him. Written by Israel Simon Schajin.

528–557. Statistical accounts of the Holy Land (beginning 1839), collected by Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore. 30 vols., fol.

559. Sermon by P. Segura, Haham Bashi of Smyrna, delivered at the Great Synagogue on the arrival of Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore, 1841. English title-page, the sermon being in Hebrew.

560. Address to Sir Moses Montefiore on the occasion of his beginning to write a scroll of the Torah in Vilna, by Salmon Wolf b. Ezekiel Feiwel.

561 1. חמת דמשק An account of the Damascus affair, and the mission of Sir Moses Montefiore and Adolphe Crémieux, by Mordecai Aaron Ginzburg (printed).

563. ספר ההלל והשבחה Prayers and hymns in honor of

Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore, composed and translated into English by Abraham Belais. Enclosed two letters, dated 18 Ellul, 5609.

564. The water supply of Jerusalem, by Henry Lumley, Jerusalem, 1871; fol. 27, Report on Sir Moses Montefiore's garden at Jaffa.

565. "The Providence of God with Israel", Sermon delivered at the synagogue of the Spanish and Portuguese Jewish Congregation in Bevis Marks, by D. A. de Sola, 15 Adar 5601 (March 8, 1841). Preceded by a dedicatory letter to Sir Moses Montefiore.

566. Another copy of the same, preceded by a dedicatory letter to Lady Montefiore.

567. Lady Montefiore's Journal, Nov. 11, 1827 to Feb. 20, 1828. A Hebrew poem of three strophes is pasted over the inside of the left-hand cover.

570. Sermon by Baruch b. Abraham, presented to Sir Moses Montefiore.

571. ספר לויח חן צדה לדרך Prayers and verses of the Bible with English translation, collected by Abraham Belais, in honor of Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore's journey to Jerusalem in the year 1849.

572. Similar work by the same author in celebration of the return of Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore in 1850.

573. Sermon by Emmuel Hyims (sic), delivered on the tenth anniversary of the dedication of Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore's Synagogue, 27 June, 5603 (1873).

574. Letters and petitions received by Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore, in the Holy Land in the year 5599 (1839). Index by Dr. Loewe.

575. Vol. II, 1839.

576. Vol. III, for the year 1849.

577. Vol. IV, 1849, containing many loose letters.

578. Diary of a journey through England, Holland, and Germany, giving the names of the towns visited, expenses incurred, and chief incidents.

III. SPECIAL PRAYERS AND ORDERS OF SERVICE

תפלה....A prayer offered by the Jewish Community for Sir Moses Montefiore, Knt., whose generous heart urges him to undertake a far distant journey in aid of our afflicted and persecuted brethren of the House of Israel. London, 5600. B.M. 1976, f.20. (31.)

Order of Service to be observed in the ק"ק שער השמים Synagogue of Spanish and Portuguese Jews, Bevis Marks, on Monday, the 15th Adar, 5601—8th March, 1841, being the day appointed for a general thanksgiving to Almighty God for His divine protection to His people Israel, so signally manifested in the success which attended Sir Moses Montefiore, F.R.S., in his mission to the East. Printed by direction of the Gentlemen of the Mahamad. London, 1841. B. M. 1976, f.21. (9).

תפלה ושיר תודה Order of Service delivered at all the Synagogues throughout Great Britain on 20th Adar-13th March 5601, the day appointed for thanksgiving to Almighty God for His divine protection to His people Israel, so signally manifested in the success which attended Sir Moses Montefiore, F.R.S., on his mission to the East. London, (5601).

מזמור שיר חנכת הבית Order of Service at the Dedication of the Synagogue founded by Moses Montefiore and Judith his wife in commemoration of the happy event of their visit to the Holy City of Jerusalem, the inheritance of their forefathers and as an humble tribute to the Almighty for His great and manifold

Blessings. Ramsgate, 30th Sivan (16th June) 5593. (In the title page, the name Judith is יבא (the same as in her Ketubah).

Prayer offered up in the Synagogues of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews שער השמים ק"ק on Adar 1, 5619, in consequence of the approaching departure of Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore on their mission to Rome. London, 1859.

תפלה....Prayer and Thanksgiving offered up in the Great Synagogue, Duke's Place, on Sabbath, the 20th day of Sivan, 5606, on the occasion of Sir M. Montefiore's return from Russia. London, (5606). B. M. 1976.f. 20. (43.)

תפלה....Prayer offered up in the London Synagogues of the United Congregations, for the success of Sir Moses Montefiore's mission to Rome on behalf of Edgar Mortara of Bologna. London, 1859. B. M. 1976.f.20. (33)

קול רמה....Order of Service on the occasion of the laying of the foundation stone of a new synagogue for the Spanish and Portuguese Jews, being a branch of the Congregation Shaar Ashamaim, in Upper Bryanston Street, Edgware Road, by Sir Moses Montefiore...on Tuesday, 11th Nisan, 5620—April 3rd, 1860. London, 1860. B.M. 1976.f.20. (37.)

תפלה Prayer offered up in the London Synagogues of the United Congregations. On Sabbath, the 10th of Kislev, 5624. For the success of Sir Moses Montefiore's mission to Morocco. London, (5624) B.M. 1976.f.20. (34.)

סדר התודאה Special Service to take place in the ק"ק שער השמים Synagogue of Spanish and Portuguese Jews, Bevis Marks, on Monday, 5th Nisan, 11th April, 5624, being the day appointed for a public Thanksgiving to Almighty God, for His divine

protection to His people Israel, so signally manifested in the success which attended Sir Moses Montefiore, Bart., in his mission to Morocco. (containing copy of Memorial presented to H. S. M. the Sultan of Morocco and also copy of the Edict of the Sultan, delivered to Sir Moses Montefiore, Bart.). London, 1864. B. M. 1976f.21 (25.)

תודה ותפילה....Form of Prayer and Thanksgiving for the success which attended the mission of Sir Moses Montefiore, Bart., to Morocco, to be used in all the Synagogues of the United Congregations of the British Empire, on Sabbath, April 16, 5624. London, (5624). B.M. 1976.f.20. (27.)

תפלה Prayer offered up in the Synagogues of the United Congregations, on the occasion of Sir Moses Monfiore's departure for the Holy Land. Adar, 5626. London, (5626). B.M. 1976.f.20. (29).

A Hymn of Thanksgiving, (For Private Circulation) composed on the occasion of the safe return home of Sir Moses Montefiore, Bart., from his mission of charity to Jerusalem. (Paraphrased by M. H.) Sivan 5626—May 1866, London.

Prayer to be offered up in the Synagogues of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews, שער השמים, on the 24th Tamuz 5627 שבת פנחס on the occasion of the approaching departure of Sir Moses Montefiore, Bart., for Roumania. London, 1867. B.M.

Prayer and Thanksgiving offered up on Sabbath, 21st September, 5627, on the occasion of Sir Moses Montefiore's return from Roumania. London, 5627

Prayer offered up in the Spanish and Portuguese Jews' Synagogues of England, on Sabbath, July 13th, 5632, for the success of Sir Moses Montefiore's journey to Russia. London, 1872.

תפלה Prayer to be offered in the London Synagogues of the United Congregation...for the safety of Sir

Moses Montefiore's journey to Russia. London, 1872. B.M.

תפלה למשה Service of Prayer and Thanksgiving to be used in all the Synagogues of the British Empire, on the occasion of Sir Moses Montefiore, Bart., completing his hundredth year, 26th October 5645–1884. London.

IV. MONTEFIORIANA

in Catalogue of the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition, Royal Albert Hall, London 1887.

No. On loan from

650. AUDIENCE *Miss Seckel*
Of Sir M. Montefiore and M. Adolphe Crémieux with Mehemet Ali (1840).

651. AUTOGRAPH LETTER *L. Emanuel*
From Sir Moses Montefiore to Mr. Lewis Emanuel, written in the Holy City of Jerusalem, July 28, 1875

652. AUTOGRAPH LETTER *C. I. de Sola*
From Sir Moses Montefiore to Rev. D. A. de Sola (1836), acknowledging receipt of the first volume of the latter's translation of the Forms of Prayer.

653. AUTOGRAPH LETTER *Dr. M. Davis*
From Sir Moses Montefiore, Bart.

654. AUTOGRAPH LETTER *C. K. Salaman*
From Sir Moses Montefiore to Mr. C. K. Salaman relative to his journey to the Holy Land. Date, March 1849.

655. AUTOGRAPH LETTER *A. de Mattos Mocatta*
Of introduction by Sir Moses Montefiore in Hebrew and English to the Haham Bashi of Constantinople

656. TWO LETTERS *Per I. Spielmann*
Each three pages long, written by Sir Moses Montefiore in his 95th year.

657. LETTER FROM PRINCE CHARLES OF ROUMANIA *J. Sebag Montefiore*

To Sir Moses Montefiore, stating that the Jews of Roumania are well cared for by the Government, and that religious persecution does not exist in the country.

658. LETTER FROM THE EMPEROR OF MOROCCO *J. Sebag Montefiore*
To Sir Moses Montefiore.

659. ORIGINAL FIRMAN OF SULTAN OF TURKEY GRANTING EQUAL RIGHTS TO JEWS *J. Sebag Montefiore*
Obtained by Sir Moses Montefiore, through his mission to the East in 1840.

660. LETTER FROM CHIEF RABBI *Per I. Spielmann*
To Sir Moses Montefiore.

661. LETTER FROM MRS. GARFIELD *Per I. Spielmann*
Congratulation to Sir Moses Montefiore in 1881.

662. TWO ROUGH NOTE BOOKS *Per I. Spielmann*
Containing notes written by Sir Moses Montefiore during his travels to the East.

663. LITHOGRAPHED COPY OF SIR MOSES MONTEFIORE'S WILL *Per I. Spielmann*

664. CENTENNIAL CONGRATULATIONS *Per I. Spielmann*
Telegrams of congratulation upon Sir M. Montefiore's hundredth birthday, bound into a volume.

664*a*. CENTENNIAL ADDRESSES *Ramsgate Synagogue*
From various public bodies, on Sir Moses Montefiore's hundredth birthday.

665. TESTIMONIAL *Bevis Marks Synagogue*
To Sir M. Montefiore, with copy of Firman.

666. SMALL ENGLISH BIBLE *Josephine H. Lublin*
Formerly belonging to Sir Moses Montefiore. Contains notes in the handwriting of Sir Moses.

667. PRAYER BOOK *J. Sebag Montefiore*
Bound in silver; with miniature of Sir Moses Montefiore.

668. ACCOUNT OF SIR MOSES MONTEFIORE'S GOLDEN WEDDING On Satin. *Per I. Spielmann*

669–676. Reports *Per I. Spielmann*
Of Sir Moses Montefiore to the Board of Deputies, 1872, and other Reports and Pamphlets (8).

677. Prospectus *Per I. Spielmann*
Of the sale of East Cliff Lodge, Ramsgate, in 1832, when it was purchased by Sir Moses Montefiore.

678. Hebrew Almanack Proof (5606). *G. Ellis*
By De Lara. Dedicated to Sir Moses Montefiore.

679. Plan of Table *Lewis Emanuel*
At the inauguration dinner given by Sir Moses Montefiore (then Moses Montefiore, Esq.) on 4th Oct. 1837, as Sheriff of London and Middlesex.

680. Silver Trophy *Bevis Marks Synagogue*
Presented to Sir Moses Montefiore in acknowledgment of his mission to the East in 1840, on behalf of his persecuted co-religionists.

681. Jug and Basin *Bevis Marks Synagogue*
Presented by the late N. M. Rothschild, Esq., to Sir Moses Montefiore, at the opening of the Ramsgate Synagogue.

682. Small Scroll of the Law *Bevis Marks Synagogue*
Used by Sir M. Montefiore on his travels.

683. "Jews' Walk" *Bevis Marks Synagogue*
Board formerly on wall at Guildhall. Removed at the instance of Sir M. Montefiore (1838).

684. Gilt Cup Presentation *Bevis Marks Synagogue*

685. Silver Cup Presentation (Frankfort)

685*a*. Gold Watch Repeater *A. M. Sebag Montefiore*
In *repoussé* case. Formerly the property of Mrs. Rachel Montefiore (mother of Sir M. Montefiore)

686. Talith (Praying Scarf) *J. Sebag Montefiore*
Used by Sir Moses Montefiore. Embroidered corners.

687. Bread Tickets *Per I. Spielmann*
Given away by Sir Moses Montefiore on Saturday instead of money.

688. PHOTOGRAPH OF A CHEQUE FOR £100
Presented by Sir Moses Montefiore to the Board of Guardians on his hundredth birthday. It was the custom of Sir Moses, on his birthdays, to give to public institutions sums of money corresponding to the number of years of his age.

689. PASSPORTS OF SIR MOSES MONTEFIORE
Per I. Spielmann
For the years 1816, 1823, 1836, 1846, 1857, 1859, 1862, 1863, 1867, 1868, 1870, 1871, 1872, 1875.

690. VISITING CARD OF "MR. SHERIFF MONTEFIORE"

691. INVITATION CARD *Per. I. Spielmann*
Of Messrs. George Carroll and M. Montefiore, Sheriffs elect, 1837, to a banquet at Merchant Taylors' Hall.

692. CITY OF LONDON BROKER'S MEDAL *Hyman Montagu*
Lately belonging to and inscribed with the name of the late Sir Moses Montefiore, Bart. Only twelve such medals were issued to Jews, the object being to limit the number of Jewish brokers.

693. MEDAL *B. Heymann*
Struck by Gebrüder Nathan at Hamburg (1841), in commemoration of Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore's journey to Egypt. Silver gilt. *Obv.* Arms and Hebrew inscription. *Rev.* Inscriptions in German.

694. MEDAL *Lucien Wolf*
Struck in London in honor of Sir Moses Montefiore's hundredth birthday. *Obv.* Bust; &c. *Rev.* A UNIVERSAL TRIBUTE, &c. Issued by Loewenstark & Sons.

695. MEDAL *Lucien Wolf*
Struck at Corfu in honor of Sir Moses Montefiore's hundredth birthday. *Obv.* Bust. *Rev.* A. MOSE MONTEFIORE SINTESI PERFETTA DEL GIUDAISMO NEL SUO CENTENARIO VIII HESVAN, 5645.

696 MONTEFIORE MEDAL *Hyman Montagu*

698. TESTIMONIALS *Bevis Marks Synagogue*
Presented to Sir Moses Montefiore on various public occasions. Nos. 4, 8, 14, 16, 21, 27, 29, 31, 33, 34, 35, 36, 43, 44, 45, 53.

MONTEFIORE COLLEGE, RAMSGATE; *see* No. 567.

707. AUTOGTAPH LETTER *Dr. M. Davis*
From John Barnett (composer).

1047. SIR MOSES MONTEFIORE, BART., F.R.S. *Alliance Assurance Company*
Oil. By J. Richmond, R.A.

1048. SIR MOSES MONTEFIORE *Bevis Marks Synagogue*
Oil. In uniform of Deputy Lieutenant, holding the Turkish firman in his hands.

1049. SIR MOSES MONTEFIORE IN HIS 100TH [YEAR *Miss M. Twyman*
Painted in oil by Exhibitor.

1050. SIR MOSES MONTEFIORE IN HIS 100TH YEAR *Lucien Wolf*
Drawn from life. With autograph. Proof of engraving from *Graphic*.

1051. SIR MOSES MONTEFIORE *I. Solomons*
Oil. By Roland Knight.

1052. SIR MOSES MONTEFIORE *Lucien Wolf*
Etching by E. L. Montefiore, 1879.

1052*a*. SIR MOSES AND LADY MONTEFIORE *J. Sebag Montefiore*
Miniature, *circa* 1813.

1053. LADY MONTEFIORE *Bevis Marks Synagogue*
Oil.

1053*a* GROUP OF MONTEFIORE FAMILY *Mrs. D. Henriques*
Water color. Represents Mr. and Mrs Joseph Montefiore and family. The tall child in red is the eldest son, afterwards Sir Moses Montefiore.

INDEX

Abdul Aziz, Sultan, 159, 220.
Abdul Medjid, Sultan, 69, 74, 147. 220.
Aberdeen, Lord, 81, 111, 112, 220.
Abulafia, Moses, 63.
Adler, Rev. Dr. Hermann, 207, 208, 209, 218, 224.
Adler, Marcus Nathan, 33.
Adler, Rev. Dr. Nathan Marcus, 116, 218.
Albemarle, Countess of, 43.
Albert Edward, Prince of Wales, 206.
Alexander II, of Russia, 167, 168, 169.
Alexander III, of Russia, 204.
Alexander, M. S., 181.
Ali Pasha, Turkish Grand-Vizier, 120.
Alliance Israélite Universelle, 18, 109, 110, 161.
Almosnino, Solomon, 217, 218.
Ampthill, Lord, *see* Russell, Odo.
Antonelli, Cardinal, 107, 108, 222.
Armytage, Captain William 142.
Arnold, Matthew, 175.

Basevi, Sarah, 221.
Beaconsfield, Lord, 220, 221, 224.
Bearsted, Lord, *see* Samuel, Sir Marcus.
Bengio, Mordecai, 138.
Berlin Congress, the, 204, 221.
Bevis Marks Synagogue, 23, 26, 36, 35, 66, 207, 220.
Bismarck, Prince, 162.
Bleichroeder, Gerson von, 204.
Bloomfield, T. A. D., 81.
Bratianu, John, Prime Minister of Roumania, 160.
British Syrian Relief Committee, 125, 126, 127.
Brunnow, Count, 80, 173, 174, 221.
Burdett-Coutts, Baroness, 180, 203.

Cambridge, Duke of, 97.
Campbell, Thomas, 66.
Canning, Sir Stratford, 112.
Canterbury, Archibishop of, 175, 176, 222.
Carvalho, S., 110.
Cavour, Count, 109.
Charles, Prince, of Roumania, 160, 162 *seq.*, 220.
Churchill, Col. 113, 114.
Clarendon, Lord, 112, 116, 188.
Codrington, Admiral, 49, 50.
Cohen, Arthur Benjamin, 176, 209, 226.
Cohen, Levi Barent, 28.
Cohen, Lionel L., 175.
Cohen, S., 110.
Colaco, Jose Daniel, 142.
Conroy, Sir John, 44.
Crampton, Sir J. F., 134.
Crémieux, Adolphe, 18, 65, 67, 127, 161.

Damascus Affair, the, 61 *seq.*, 222.
Darwin, Charles, 175.
De Castro, Hananel, 76.
De Lesseps, M., 34.
De Medina, Solomon, 26.
De Sola, Rev. David Aaron, 218.
Disraeli, Benjamin, *see* Beaconsfield Lord.
Dolgorukov, Prince, 88.
Drummond, Admiral Sir James, 193, 194.
Durant, Francis, 142.

Eardley, Sir Culling, 109, 120.
East Cliff Lodge, 38, 39.
Edinburgh, Duke of, 173.
Ellis, J. Whittaker, 175.

Finn, James, 118.
Forbes, Dr. James G. T., 142.
Francis Joseph, Emperor of Austria, 109.
Frederick William, IV, King of Prussia, 102, 220.

Gaselee, Justice, 44.
Gaster, Haham Dr. Moses, 158.
Genoler, Col., 100.
Gideon, Samson, 109.
Gladstone, W. E., 149, 223, 224.
Gobat, Bishop, 184.
Goldsmid, Asher, 32.
Goldsmid, Lyon Isaac, 42.
Golesco, Stefan, 165.
Gompertz, Benjamin, 33.
Gortchacoff, Prince, 161.
Grammont, Duke of, 106.
Granville, Lord, 130, 131.
Guedalla, Haim, 117, 133, 136, 184.
Guizot, M., 98, 99.

Halfon, A., 166.
Hammond, Mr., 130, 131.
Harari, David, 63, 64.
Hay, Sir John Hay Drummond, 133 136.
Herzl, Theodor, 20, 21,
Hodgkin, Dr., 134, 136, 142, 185, 218.

Isabella, Queen of Spain, 138, 220.
Italy, Jews in, 22.

Jaffa to Jerusalem Railway, 120.
Jerusalem, 48, 58, 117, 120, 187, 195.
Jowett, B., 175.
Judah Halevi, quoted, 195.

Kattowitz, Chovevé Zion Conferences at, 20, 202, 210.
Keith, Dr., 182.
Kiamil Pasha, 118.
Kent, Duchess of, 38, 39, 44.
Kiselleff, Count, 85, 86, 87, 93, 94.
Kursheedt, Gershom, 116, 117.
Kutais, Ritual murder charge at, 174.

Lafitte, Joseph, 63.
Lanado, Joseph, 63.
Lansdowne, Marquess of, 127.
Layard, Sir Austin H., 129, 149.
Leven, N., 110.
Lilienthal, Dr. Max, 78, 79.
Lindo, the family of, 28;
David Abarbanel, 28, 221;
Eustace Almosino, 28;
Moses Albert Nossa, 28;
Ephraim, 221.
Loewe, Dr. Louis, 54, 55, 67, 68, 83, 86, 117, 158, 169, 171, 179, 185, 197, 209, 217, 218, 226.
Louis Napoleon, *see* Napoleon III.
Louis Phillippe, 65, 73, 98.

Macleod, Rev. Dr. N., 183.
Madden, Dr., 67.
Malmesbury, Lord, 105.
Manning, Cardinal, 175.
Mansion House, meetings at the, 66, 110, 175, 210.
Marshall, Sir Chapman, 66.
Martineau, James, 175.
Medina, Sir Solomon, 26.
Mehemet Ali, 50, 56, 59, 60, 63, 68, 69, 113.
Meldola, Raphael, 36.
Menasseh ben Israel, 24.
Menton, Ruth, 62, 63, 64.
Merry, Antonio, 135, 136.

Merry y Colon, Francisco, 135, 136, 138.
Metternich, Prince, 65.
Midhat Pasha, Grand Vizier, 184.
Miraflores, Marquis of, 134, 135, 136.
Mocatta, the family of, 27;
Abraham Lumbrozo de Mattos, 26, 27, 28, 221;
Edward Lumbrozo, 28;
Moses, 31, 30, 42, 29, 34.
Mohammed, Bargash, Sid, 137.
Mohammed ben Aberahman, Sultan of Morocco, 142.
Montefiore, Abraham, 27, 29, 34, 221;
Arthur Montefiore Sebag, 27
Charlotte, 27;
Claude Goldsmid, 27;
Esther Hannah, 23;
Francis Abraham, Sir, 27, 28, 29;
Ida M., 27;
Harriette Sebag, 27;
Jacob, 201;
Joseph, 30, 23;
Joseph Elias, 23, 27;
Joseph Mayer, 27, 131;
Joseph Sebag, Sir, 26, 30, 184, 209, 226, 95;
Joshua, 26;
Judah, (Leone), 23;
Judith, Lady, 28, 52, 55, 151 *seq.*
Moses, the family of, 23 *seq.*; birth in Leghorn, 37; marries Judith Cohen, 28; becomes stock-broker, 31; notable financial ventures, 33; Fellow of the Royal Society, 34, 43; is elected a Yahid, 36; Gabay, 36; his daily routine, 37; purchases East Cliff Lodge, 38; president of the Jewish Board of Deputies, 42; takes part in Jewish Emancipation struggle, 41; Sheriff of the City of London, 46; is knighted, 46; builds Synagogue in Ramsgate, 39, 52; first visit to Palestine, 48 *seq.*; second visit to Palestine, 52 *seq.*; reception at Rome, 53, 54; mission to Damascus, 61 *seq.*; receives supporters to Coat-of-Arms, 73–75; plans for Palestine, 59, 60; first mission to Russia, 77 *seq.*; receives a baronetcy, 95; second visit to Damascus, 99; mission to Rome on behalf of Mortara case, 104; third visit to Palestine, 100; fourth visit to Palestine, 117; honored by Sultan, 117; fifth visit to Palestine, 100; institutes British Syrian Relief Fund, 125, 126, 127; interests himself in the Jews of Persia, 124 *seq.*; mission to Morocco, 131 *seq.*; received by Queen Isabella of Spain, 138; is received by Queen Victoria at Windsor Castle, 148; receives the freedom of the city of London at the Guildhall, 149, 150; death of Judith, 156; sixth visit to Palestine, 159; mission to Roumania, 159 *seq.*; second mission to Russia, 167 *seq.*; resigns presidency of Board of Deputies, 191; seventh visit to Palestine, 185; celebration of his ninety-ninth birthday, 205; his centenary, 207; his death, 210; his will, 226 *seq.*
Moses, Sir, Testimonial Fund, 59, 60;
Moses Haim, 23, 24, 25, 26;
Nathaniel, 27;
Rachel de Joseph Elias, 26;
Rachel de Judah, 23, 30;
Colony of, 208.
Moore, Colonel Niven, 112.
Morocco, Jews of, 131 *seq.*
Mortara, Edgar, 104 *seq.*
Mortara, Momolo, 104.

Mueller, Max, 225.
Munk, Solomon, 67, 68.
Myers, Rev. Emanuel, 100.

Nahon, Moses, 142.
Napier, Lord, 118.
Napoleon, I, 32, 219.
Napoleon III, 106, 109, 162.
Nazer-eddin Shah, 129.
Nelson, Lord, 32.
Nesselrode, Count, 81, 83.
Nicholas I, of Russia, 77, 81, 82, 86, 167, 168, 170. H
Norfolk, Duke of, 43.
Normanby, Lord, 98, 101.

O'Connell, Daniel, 66.
Offenberg, Baron, 162.
Oliphant, Laurence, 64, 121.
Ouvaroff, Count, 79, 81, 86, 89, 93, 94.

Palestine, Montefiore's visits to, 48 *seq.*, 100, 117, 121, 159, 185.
Palmerston, Lord, 65, 66, 73, 98, 101, 111, 120, 127, 220, 74.
Paskiewitch, Prince, 94.
Peel, Sir Robert, 42, 48, 66, 81, 95, 97, 220.
Persia, Jews of, 124 *seq.*
Phillips, Sir Benjamin, 186.
Picciotto, Isaac Levi, 64.
Pius IX, Pope, 105, 109.
Prim, Marshal, 135, 184.

Racah, Moses Haim, 30.
Ramsgate, 38, 76, 106, 158.
Reade, Thomas Fellowes, 142.
Reform, Jewish, Montefiore's attitude towards, 111.
Rhodes, ritual murder charge in, 37.
Ritual murder accusations, 62, 70, 71, 97, *seq.* 108.
Riverola, Cardinal, 72, 99, 100, 102, 205.
Rosebery, Countess of, 209.
Rothschild, Sir Anthony de, 27, 149.
Hannah, 209;
Baron Edmund de, 20;
Henrietta de, 27;
Lionel de, 16, 42;
Louisa, Lady de, 27;
Nathaniel, Charles, 33;
Nathan Mayer, 29, 32;
Sir Nathaniel Mayer (Lord), 12, 29, 33, 210, 226.
Roumania, Jews of, 159 *seq.*
Russell, Lord John, 45, 97, 127, 129, 140, 220.
Russell, Odo, 105, 106, 107, 108.
Russia, Montefiore's visits to, 77 *seq.*; 167 *seq.*

Safed, 56.
Saïd Pasha, 114.
Salisbury, Lord, 221.
Samuel, Sir Marcus, 133, 141, 142.
Samuel, Sampson, 133, 141, 142.
Sebag, Joseph, *see* Joseph Sebag Montefiore.
Sebag, Sarah, 27.
Sebag, Solomon, 27.
Sebag-Montefiore, Robert Montefiore, 27.
Shaftesbury, Lord, 127, 223, 224.
Sophia Matilda, Princess, 44.
Spector, Rabbi Isaac Elhanan, 172.
Stanley, Dean, 223.
Stanley, Lord, 161.
Starnor, Captain Cellier de, 136.
Stratford de Redcliffe, Lord, 105, 106, 116, 120, 121, 127.
Suram, Ritual murder charge at, 102.

Taib El Yamanu, Sid, 142.
Tait, Dr. 222.
Tarachi, Mr. 214.
Tetuan, Duke of, 135.

Thiers, M., 65.
Thomas, Father, of Damascus, 61 *eq.*, 99, 101.
Tisza, Count, 207.
Tisza-Eszlar Trial, 205.
Touro, Judah, 115, 116, 117.
Toussoon Pasha, 115.
Tyndall, John, 175.

Van Oven, Joshua, 42.
Victor Emanuel, King, 109.
Victoria, Queen, 38, 39, 44, 46, 67, 73, 74, 95, 124, 148, 205, 207, 220.

Walewski, Count, 107.
Watkin, Sir Edward, 221.
Wellington, Duke of, 50.
Westmann, M. de, 164, 174.
William IV, 43, 220.
Wire, Alderman, 67.
Wolf, Lucien, 155.
Wolosin, Zebi Hirsh, 214.
Woronzoff, Prince, 103.

Date Due

OCT 09 1997

921 M764g
Moses Montefiore.
3 1839 001652936

921
M764g 21176
AUTHOR
Goodman
TITLE
Moses Montefiore.
DATE DUE | BORROWER'S NAME

921
M764g 21176